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A Grammar of the Great Andamanese Language

An Ethnolinguistic Study

By
Anvita Abbi



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To Peter Austin

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Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi

PREFACE

This grammar is the result of a major language documentation project *Vanishing Voices of the Great Andamanese (VOGA)*, which was undertaken from 2005 to 2009 in the Andaman Islands. Under the auspices of the Hans Rausing Endangered Languages Project, I, along with a team of research assistants spent approximately 40 months in the Andamans, documenting Great Andamanese and producing descriptive and theoretical work on the language. The team members spent varying amounts of time on the island during this four-year period, but I spent the longest as after the initial phase of fieldwork, my research assistants could not sustain their interest in the work primarily because of the threatening attitude of some of the officials, the difficult living conditions in the islands and boredom.

Present-day Great Andamanese (PGA) is a highly endangered language; when the VOGA team first visited Strait Island, the current home of the tribe, there were nine speakers. By the time the team left the Andamans for the last time in 2009 there were only six left. The last speaker of Bo, a variety of Great Andamanese, also died in January 2010. At present there are only five speakers with varying degrees of competence in the language. PGA is a complex and diverse language; it is a koiné formed from four surviving northern Great Andamanese languages: Khora, Jeru, Sare and Bo. It draws its lexicon from all four of these dialects but its grammar is primarily based on Jeru. It displays highly unusual grammatical features such as body part proclitics modifying all parts of speech. Perhaps most importantly, PGA is a unique language; there is strong linguistic and genetic evidence to suggest that the people of the Andaman Islands represent a distinct genetic group who populated the islands from the mainland tens of thousands of years ago. According to some geneticists, Andamanese are the survivors of the first migration out of Africa 70,000 years BP. The language is a fast-closing window on a very ancient form of cognition, or as Nicholas Ostler puts it in his review of the *A Dictionary of the Great Andamanese Language. English-Great Andamanese-Hindi* (Anvita Abbi 2012): “700 centuries of unique experience terminated in just two.”

In addition to the Great Andamanese, there are three other distinct indigenous ethnolinguistic groups inhabiting the Andamans: the Jarawa, the Onge and the Sentinelese. My first introduction to the tribes of the Andaman Islands was made in 2000–2001 when I conducted a pilot survey

of the languages of the island titled *Language Survey of Andaman* supported by the Max Planck Institute of Evolutionary Anthropology, Leipzig, Germany. The results of this survey not only opened the road to language documentation but also paved the path to explore the grammar of the Great Andamanese language.

All the languages spoken by these peoples are endangered as their population bases dwindle and Hindi extends its reach ever further in the islands. Great Andamanese is the closest to extinction, however; today only two of the four northern varieties of the language survive. The other two, Khora and Bo, became extinct with the passing of their last speakers Boro Sr. and Boa Sr. respectively.

Little is known about the affairs of the inhabitants of the Andaman Islands until the arrival of the British in the 1860s. The early colonists reported around 5000 people living as hunter-gatherers. At that time there were ten distinct varieties of Great Andamanese named after the ten tribes which spoke them. An estimated 3000–3500 Great Andamanese people lived right across the group of islands known as the Great Andaman. By the time of the 1901 Census of the islands, this number had fallen to just 625. It seems that contact with mainlanders had a devastating effect on the indigenous population, as Edward Horace Man noted: “The interesting Negrito race inhabiting the Andaman Islands is doomed to early extinction—save possibly the small section occupying Little Andaman.” (27th June 1918).

By the time of the VOGA team’s arrival in 2005, this ominous prediction had sadly been borne out; the number of the Great Andamanese had dwindled to just 51, with only ten members of the tribe still able to speak some form of the language. When the team first encountered the people, they found their lives further blighted by the 2004 tsunami, which drove them from their homes in Strait Island and forced them into temporary shelters in the Andaman capital of Port Blair. Many of the earlier recordings were made in this difficult period. The people were often withdrawn and unwilling to collaborate with the VOGA team, preoccupied as they were with dealing with the difficult situation in which they found themselves. In late 2005 the members of the tribe returned to their homes in Strait Island, a small island to the northeast of Port Blair. The later recordings were all made there.

The Great Andamanese of today live on subsidies provided to them by the Indian government, though some members still continue their traditions of fishing for crabs and other sea-life and hunting turtles. Gathering tubers and potatoes, however, is now virtually non-existent. Most tribe

members understand Hindi, Bangla and a few words of English as well as some words in Great Andamanese. Children under 16 now do not speak or understand the heritage language. The main language of communication amongst members of the tribe is the Andaman variety of Hindi.

The unusual structures of the language captured in the present grammar motivate us to capture the ‘possible’ structures of human language.

SOAS, University of London, UK

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ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
A	agent
ABL	ablative
ABS	absolutive
ACC	accusative
ADJ	adjective
ADV	adverb
AGT	agentive
APPL	applicative
C	consonant
CAUS	causative
CL 1, CL 2, etc.	body division class 1, 2, etc.
CLASS	classifier
CLT	clitic
COM	comitative
COMP	complementiser
COMPR	comparative
CONJ	conjunct
COP	copula
COND	conditional
CONV	converb
D	possessed
DAT	dative
DEM	demonstrative
DIR	directional
DIS.VIS	distant visible
DIS.INVIS	distant invisible
DST.PST	distant past
DO	Direct object
DU	dual
EMPH	emphatic
ERG	ergative
EXCL	exclusive

EXIST	existential
F	female
FA	formative affix
GEN	genitive
H, HON	honorific
HAB	habitual
IMM.PST	immediate past
IMP	imperative
IO	indirect object
INA	inalienability
INCL	inclusive
INSTR	instrument
INT	intimate
LOC	locational
M	male
MOD	modifier
MT	mother tongue
N	noun
NEG	negative
NMLZ	nominaliser
NOM	nominal
NP	noun phrase
NPST	non-past tense
NRR.PST	narrative past
O	object
OBJ	object clitic
PGA	Present-day Great Andamanese
PCPL	participial
PL	plural
PP	postpositional phrase
POSS	possessive
PRO	pronoun
PROHB	prohibitive
PROX	proximate
PROX1	proximate, nearer to the speaker
PROX2	proximate, nearer to the hearer
PST	past
Q	question
R	possessor

REC	reciprocal
REL	relativiser
REFL	reflexive
RESULT	resultative
S	subject
SG	singular
Sp	speaker
SPEC	specific
STAT	stative
SUBJ	subjunctive
TAM	tense, mood and aspect
TR	transitiviser
V	verb
vt	verb transitive
vi	verb intransitive
X	any entity
=	clitic boundary

CHAPTER ONE

THE ANDAMAN AND THE GREAT ANDAMANES

They don't understand me. What can I do? If they don't speak to me now, what will they do once I've passed away? Don't forget our language, grab hold of it. Don't ever let it go.

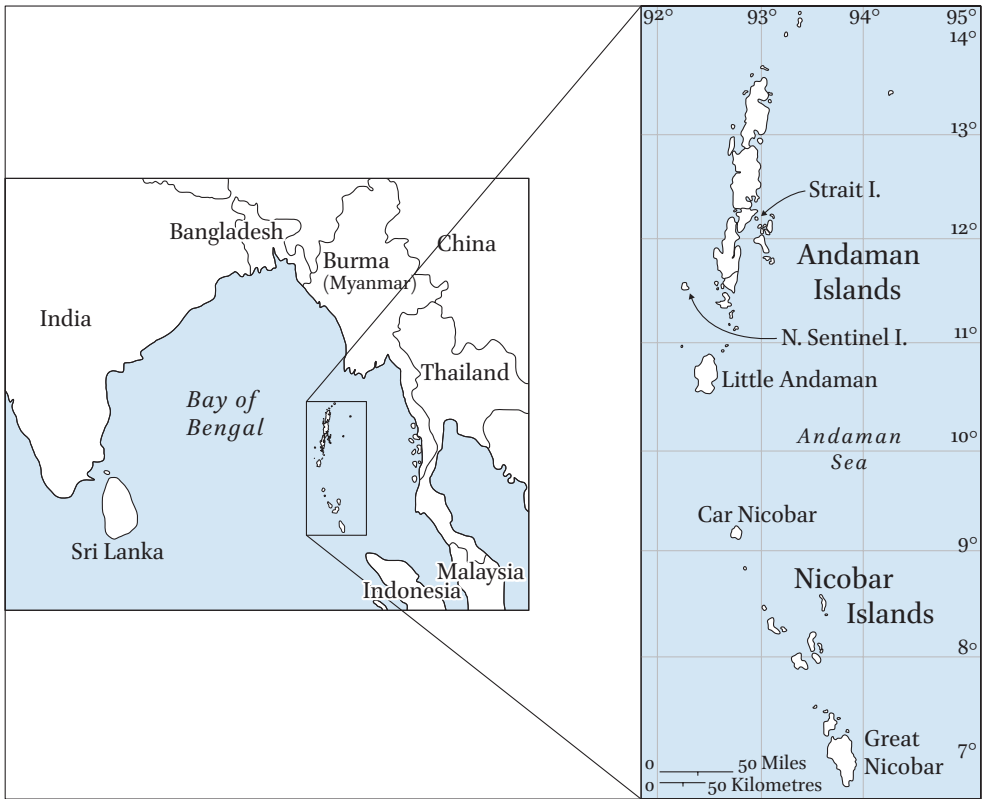
Boa Sr., the last speaker of Bo.

INTRODUCTION

The Andaman Islands and their people have been the centre of interest for a multitude of scientific and cultural reasons since their discovery in the 18th century. During the 18th and 19th centuries, researchers studied these islands to classify and catalogue the various human races in the world, with the underlying desire to scientifically confirm the racial superiority of the white race over the others. The 20th century witnessed a change in this attitude. Subsequent scientific, anthropological, linguistic and cultural studies revealed that the islands and the people were unique from an evolutionary perspective. These preliminary studies have revealed that investigations concerning these small islands are important for understanding significant aspects of human evolution, migration and even the peopling of the continents.

1.1 GEOGRAPHY AND TOPOGRAPHY

A cluster of approximately 324 islands and islets in the Bay of Bengal, running from north to south and located southeast of the Indian sub-continent, constitutes the Andaman and Nicobar Islands. The Andaman Islands lie between 10°13'–13°30' N latitude and 90°15'–93°10' E longitude. These are truly oceanic islands, never having been connected to the mainland during Pleistocene glaciations (Ripley & Beehler 1989). They are separated from the Malay Peninsula by the Andaman Sea, an arm of the Bay of Bengal and are part of the union territory of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands which belong to India. The Andaman Islands are broadly divisible into two sets of groups, Great Andaman and Little Andaman.



Map 1. Southeast Asia

The Great Andaman: the area covered by the Andaman Islands is made up of island clusters. From north to south, the various islands are North Andaman, Middle Andaman, South Andaman, Baratang, Ritchie Archipelago and North and South Sentinel. Collectively, these are called the Great Andaman. The close proximity of these islands to each other creates the impression of one island, a fact that unfortunately motivated the government to build the Andaman Grand Trunk road, which robbed the tribes of their basic resources due to rampant deforestation. The capital city of the Andaman Islands is Port Blair, located in the south of the islands at a distance of 1255 km from Kolkata. Approximately 65 km south from the city of Port Blair in the Great Andaman is the island called Little Andaman, which is a home to Onges.

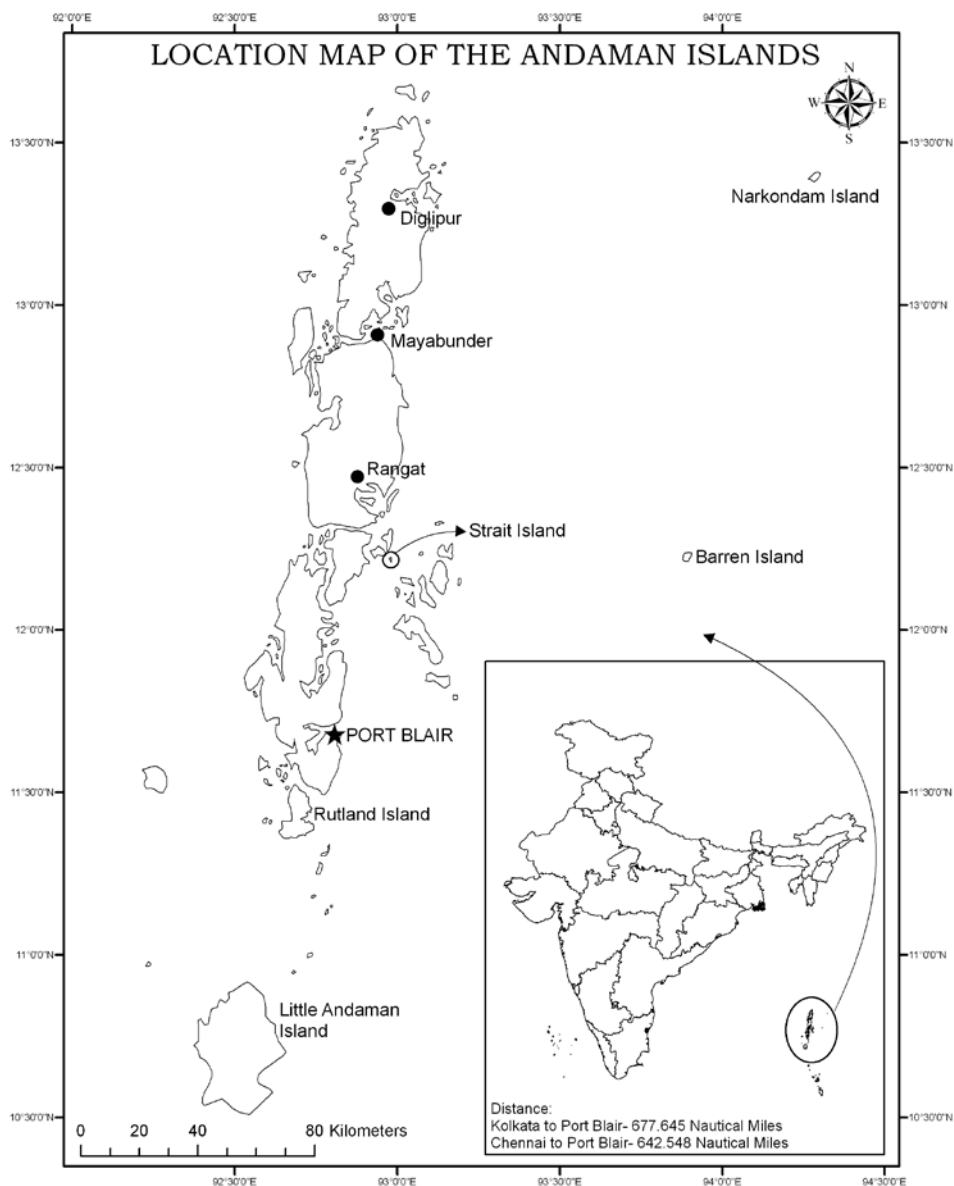
1.2 POPULATION

According to the 2001 Census, the total population of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands was around 314,239, of which 203,968 constituted the population of the Andaman Islands. However, the tsunami caused by the earthquake in the Indian Ocean on 26th December 2004 decreased the population of the island by approximately 7000.

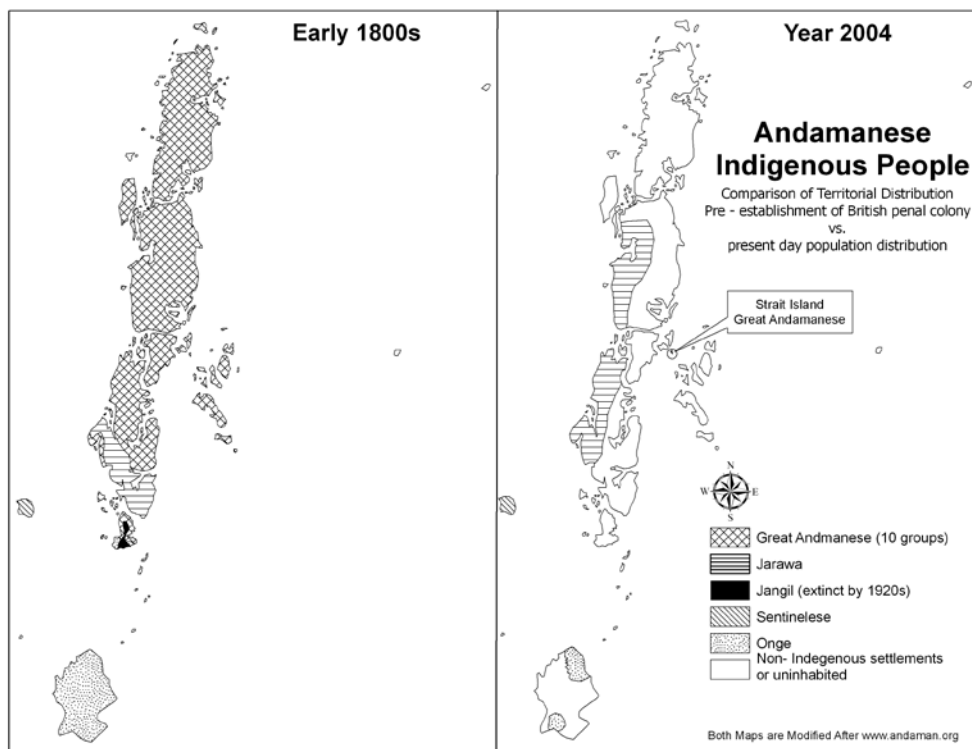
The variety of people from mainland India and neighbouring countries, such as Bangladesh and Burma, has helped in making the area plurilingual, multilingual and multicultural. Most of the scheduled and some of the non-scheduled¹ languages of Jharkhand, such as Kharia, Kurux and Mundari are spoken on the islands. It is not surprising that with all their diverse and heterogeneous communities, the Andaman Islands are called 'Mini India.'

The current state of knowledge of Andamanese languages has improved significantly from what was known fifty, or even ten years ago. Of the fourteen known Andamanese languages, only four are still spoken today: Onge, Jarawa, Sentinelese and the Koiné form of present-day Great Andamanese (PGA henceforth). The PGA is breathing its last as it is a moribund language. Most of the spoken Andamanese languages are in danger of extinction due to a low population base and/or language replacement by Hindi. The speakers of the four living languages that are mentioned

¹ The Constitution of India recognizes only twenty-two languages generally termed "scheduled languages" as they are listed under VIII Schedule, Articles 343–351 of the Constitution and the rest as 'unscheduled.' The former are official languages of Indian states.



Map 2. Location of the Andaman Islands



Map 3. The 19th–20th century

above can be grouped into four major groups: the Great Andamanese, the Jarawa, the Onge and the Sentinelese. Barring the Sentinelese, the other tribes have been exposed to the mainlanders. Jangil, a language closely associated with Sentinelese, and several other Great Andamanese languages have become extinct within the last eighty years.

The ten distinct languages of the Great Andaman are known by the names of the respective tribes that speak them. The history of contact with outsiders varies from tribe to tribe. Chronologically, the first group to come into contact with the mainlanders was the Great Andamanese, followed by the Onge and finally the Jarawa. All attempts to establish contact with the Sentinelese have failed so far. The Jarawa came to be known to the mainlanders only recently. It is generally believed that first contact was established in 1998. The demographic scale of these islanders is inversely related to the period of contact with the mainlanders; the longer and deeper the contact, the smaller the population. It is reported that the

population of the Great Andamanese fell from an estimated 3000–3500 in the early part of the 19th century to 625 by the 20th century (Census 1901).² At present, the population figures of different tribes are as follows: present-day Great Andamanese (56); Jarawa (300); Onge (105); Sentinelese (not known). The Great Andamanese people were hunter-gatherers until the end of the 19th century, just before their intensive contact with the British, when the latter established a penal colony in Port Blair in 1858. While the Jarawas are still hunter-gatherers, the other two tribes—the Onge and the Great Andamanese—live a sedentary life, chiefly dependent on government welfare.

1.3 PRESENT-DAY GREAT ANDAMAN AND THE GREAT ANDAMANESE

1.3.1 *Great Andaman*

The present-day Great Andaman is no different from any other Union Territory of India in a judicial, political or academic sense. The difference is the noticeably large population of ‘settlers’ from South India, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka. With eighteen to twenty languages represented in the Islands it is justifiably known as ‘Mini India.’ Great Andaman has the potential for new jobs as the development of the Islands is in full swing.

Lately some of the Great Andamanese have been inducted into the police force and some have joined the shipping fleet, but the majority of them stay at Strait Island, 53 nautical miles to the northeast of the city of Port Blair. The tribes of Strait Island frequently visit Port Blair to receive their monthly allowance, medical help and other necessary aids from the government bodies. At present, the Great Andamanese have a dietary habit similar to most Indians, with wheat, rice, vegetables, fish and meat forming their staple diet. Nonetheless, the men still prefer to hunt turtles in the sea and they also go fishing quite regularly; crab is also an integral part of their diet. Birds are occasionally eaten. However, the gathering of tubers and potatoes is virtually non-existent now.

The flora of the Andaman Islands is diverse and complex. The tropical forest is dense with very tall trees and thick undergrowth. As far as marine fauna is concerned, Andaman has a rich diversity. However, the forest fauna is restricted to varieties of birds, insects and reptiles. In spite of the tropical forest, there is a great paucity of mammals in the Andaman

² The website www.andaman.org quotes the figure to be much higher.

Islands. Wild pig was the only large mammal until fifty years ago. There are no monkeys, squirrels or other small mammals except bats. Deer and dogs were only introduced recently. Among the fauna the Andamanese recognise a large variety of birds, crabs, turtles, fish, snakes, ants and mosquitoes. Among the flora, the largest lexicon is that of trees and plants which are used for either hunting, everyday use or for medicinal purposes. It perhaps justifies the utilitarian view of the folk biology that people have a more diverse vocabulary for those categories of biological entities which are more useful to them. For information on these aspects, readers may refer to *A Dictionary of the Great Andamanese Language* (Abbi 2012).

The Great Andamanese, especially those who visit Port Blair frequently, have a functional knowledge of Hindi and Bangla. Some of them also understand a few words of English. Children below the age of sixteen do not understand or speak the heritage language. All of the members communicate in Andamanese Hindi among themselves. See §1.8 below.

1.3.2 *The Strait Island*

The area of the present research was Strait Island, a tribal reserve recognised by the government of India. Strait Island is a small island of two km² located in South Andaman, Andaman and Nicobar Islands. From Port Blair there is a fortnightly ferry service which is the only mode of transport available to visit the island. Strait Island is a small, comma-shaped, forested island (refer to map 4 titled 'The Strait Island'), known for its caves of birds' nests and deer. The settlement of the Great Andamanese at Strait is administered by the Andaman administration (AAJVS). There are only 8 households in total and people do not live in them permanently as members keep travelling back and forth between Strait Island and Port Blair. Some of the Great Andamanese members have been appointed government jobs in the city and have been provided housing in Port Blair.

Some members of the community who live on Strait Island prefer to hunt in the sea for small catches. However, this is done more as a hobby than for survival. Every Great Andamanese household is equipped with modern gadgets such as CD players, televisions, refrigerators, washing machines and electric irons. It is a lost society which loves to emulate city-dwellers on the one hand and tries in vain to retain old practices on the other. Most of the men smoke, chew tobacco and drink alcohol, which is one of the causes of their short life span. Women do not find the men acceptable because of these bad habits and thus, prefer to have intimate relations outside of the tribe. This leads to further injury to the mental



Map 4. The Strait Island

state of the men in the tribe. It is a vicious circle from which men find it difficult to break out.

A large part of the island is occupied by the Public Work Department (PWD) and the AAJVS (the Andaman Tribal Welfare Society) after the last tsunami of 2004. There is a nursery school for children and a small dispensary for primary health care. The island is lush green consisting of coconut, banana, tamarind, mango, gurjan, palm, and several indigenous trees. No vegetables are grown on the island: they are all transported from the city of Port Blair. Solar powered equipment is seen to be used by the Great Andamanese people. The local non-tribal population is larger than the indigenous tribal population, a glaring fact obvious to anyone visiting the Reserve. We made several trips to this island as the government does not give permission to visit the island for longer than three weeks at a time.

When we first visited Strait Island in 2001 there were nine speakers (of PGA), among them three Jirake, the Chief (multilingual in several languages/dialects of the Great Andamanese language family, but proficient in Jeru), Boa Sr., (the last speaker of Bo) and Nao Jr. (the most fluent speaker of Jeru) served us as the main repositories of information. Unfortunately, they all died between 2005–2010. Another speaker Boro, who came from a Khora background also died during our fieldwork. At present, we have, in order of fluency in the language: Lico, Peje, Noe, Surmei and Golat. They are all in the range of fifty to fifty-eight years of age and speak the koiné variety of present-day Great Andamanese. Alas, the language is breathing its last.

1.4 HISTORY OF LANGUAGE STUDIES

Apart from Great Andamanese, the other three languages are vibrant despite the small population base, as they are still passed on to the next generation. Except for Sentinelese, we have fair amount of knowledge about the Andamanese languages.

The following is a brief account of a linguistic study undertaken on the Andamanese languages with special emphasis on the new perspectives emerging from research undertaken in the last ten years. While discussing the results of these investigations, we will be keeping the issues of genetic classification and typology of the languages in mind. In this way the historical analysis proceeds in tandem with the descriptive analysis.

1.4.1 *Great Andamanese*

Great Andamanese is a cover term that has been used for ten disparate groups of the tribes living in the Great Andaman, each speaking a different language but mutually intelligible to its neighbouring tribe. It constitutes the sixth language family of India (Abbi 2006b, 2009, Blevins 2007). There are ten languages, which can be grouped into three varieties: southern, central and northern. There are two distinct language families in the Andaman Islands, i.e. Great Andamanese and Angan, the latter being associated to the Austronesian language family (Blevins 2007). Consult Figure 1.1.

Except for Jeru and Sare³ all of the Great Andamanese languages are now extinct. The Great Andamanese languages formed a ‘linguistic continuum’, so that each language was closely related to its neighbour on each side but those at the extreme ends of the geographic continuum were mutually unintelligible. Hence, Aka-Cari (Map 2), a North Great Andamanese language, was mutually unintelligible with Âkà-Bêa, the southern variety.

The present-day Great Andamanese language is a mixture of four northern varieties⁴ with several linguistic inputs levelled to generate the current speech: a koiné (Manoharan 1989). PGA draws its lexicon from

³ There is one speaker who claims to hail from a Sare background though she speaks the modern version of the Great Andamanese language.

⁴ The last few generations of Great Andamanese speakers are descendants of inter-marriages among North Andamanese tribes. The Government of India encouraged this practice in order to preserve their dwindling numbers when the entire population was settled on Strait Island.

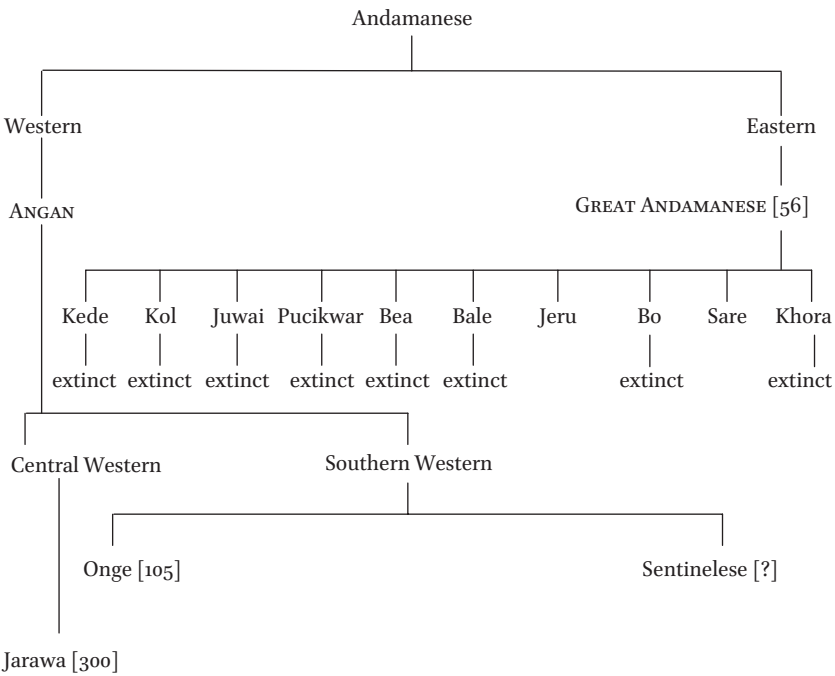


Figure 1.1. Two distinct language families in Andaman (Adapted from Abbi 2003)

Table 1.1. The Andamanese languages in the 19th century

Great Andamanese			Angan		
North	Central	Southern	Central-East	South	South-East
Aka-Kora (Khora)	Aka-Puchikwar (Pujjukar)	Aka-Bale	Jarawa (Ang)	Onge (Ang)	Sentinelese
Aka-Cari (Sare)	Aka-Kede	Âkà-Bêa			
Aka-Jeru (Jeru/Jero)	Aka-Kol	Jangil			
Aka-Bo	Aka-Jowoi				

(Present-day pronunciations of the names by the tribes are given in brackets)

Jeru, Sare, Khora and Bo, but is primarily based on the grammar of Jeru. As the present form is the amalgam of four languages, the author has deliberately avoided naming this form of the language ‘Jeru’ as this will unnecessarily place an arbitrary emphasis on one language over the others. PGA is spoken on Strait Island. A recent study shows that it shares a large percentage of its vocabulary with Aka-Kede, the central variety of the Great Andamanese language (Mayank 2009).

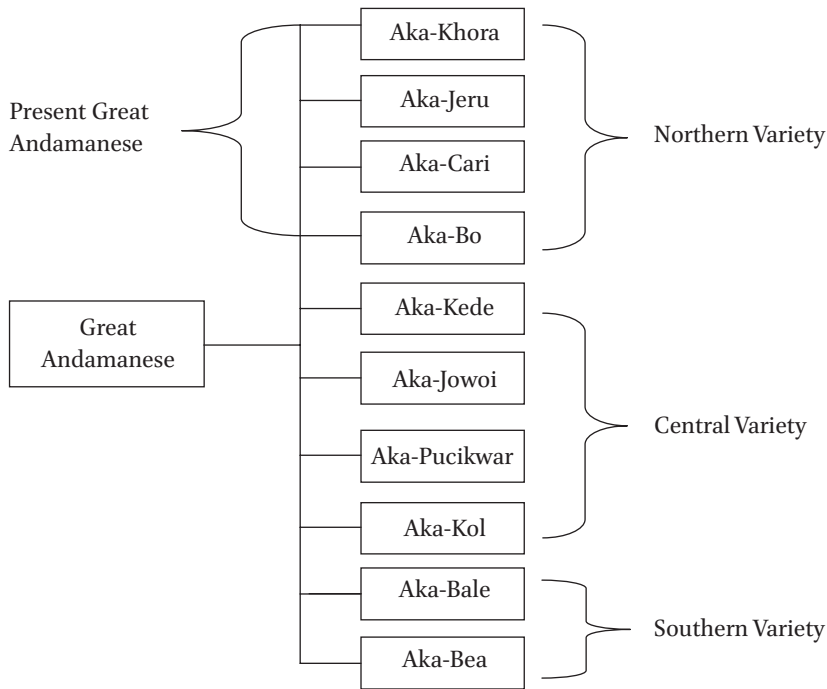


Figure 1.2. Present Great Andamanese and its regional varieties

The other languages of the islands are:

Jarawa	two varieties, spoken in northern Middle Andaman and southern Middle Andaman
Onge	spoken in Dugong Creek, north of Little Andaman
Sentinelese	spoken on the North Sentinel Island
Jangil	became extinct by 1920

Historically, the research on Andamanese languages can be broadly divided into two phases: pre- and post-independent India. Most of the documentation of the extinct languages of the Great Andamanese, especially the South Andamanese languages, is available in the writings of the British ICS officers who had training in anthropology (Man 1875–1879, 1923; Temple 1903; Portman 1887, 1898; Radcliffe-Brown 1922, 1929, 1948). The living languages of the Great and Little Andaman Islands have been documented by Indian linguists and anthropologists in the post-independent era.

1.4.2 Study in Pre-Independent India

Interest in the indigenous tribes of the Andaman Islands began in order to reveal and solve the ‘mystery’ of the hitherto obscure hunter-gatherer populations living isolated from the rest of the world for thousands of years. Travellers and explorers, who met the fate of being shipwrecked on the Andaman shores or who had a ‘view’ of the “savaged race having heads, eyes, and teeth resembling those of the canine species” (Marco Polo in Masefield 1908: 347), or who thought they were “wild because they eat one another” (Frederike 1625: 1710),⁵ were prejudiced. Furthermore, their impressions were not based on fact, nor could they comment on the language of the tribes primarily because they were never allowed to step foot on the island.

It was the British government officers, with high designations as Commissioners or Assistant Commissioners, who spent considerable periods of time administering the region during the last three decades of the 19th and early 20th century, who were able to unearth the mystery of the languages spoken by these tribes. The logistical proximity of South Andaman, having Port Blair as the capital city, gave Man (1883, 1885, 1923), Temple (1903) (the two worked in collaboration on linguistic and anthropological analysis) and Portman (1898) the opportunity to describe the South Andamanese languages such as Âkà-Bêa and Aka Bale in detail. The dictionary of Âkà-Bêa by Man (1923) is an exhaustive and unparalleled example of language documentation of one of the Southern Great Andamanese languages in this phase. It contains, among other items, a brief grammatical sketch of Âkà-Bêa which brings forth the unique nature of the language (Man 1875–1878).⁶ However, Portman’s (1887) *A manual of the Andamanese languages* is the only document that included a comparative lexicon from North (Chari), Central (Kede) and Southern (Bea and Puchikwar) languages including some sporadic words from Onge, the language spoken in Little Andaman, and English-Andamanese sentences in the four Great Andamanese languages. However, both Temple and Radcliffe-Brown raise doubts about the authenticity of the data in Portman’s *Manual*. In the absence of any other reliable records in the North Andamanese languages one cannot be sure of the judgment passed

⁵ Radcliffe-Brown (1922: 8) very convincingly disputes these judgments.

⁶ The author had the opportunity to go through the handwritten manuscripts by Man (1875–1878 and 1875–1879) which are, on numerous occasions, annotated and commented on by Temple. These are archived in the Royal Anthropological Institute, London.

by Temple and Radcliffe-Brown. One would like to give it the benefit of the doubt as Portman was the only officer who spent ten years in the Andaman and Nicobar Islands. Portman's *Notes on the Languages of South Andaman Group of Tribes* (1898) discusses some vocabulary of the Jarawa and Bea languages and was the first to recount ground level knowledge of Andamanese languages. A recent study of the select few lexical entries (Mayank 2009) proved that the North Andamanese data is very close to the present-day Great Andamanese language. Man and Portman were drawn to the fact that the Great Andamanese languages offered very unusual structures and thus attempted to describe them in their writings. Portman (1899) gave a detailed description of the socio-anthropological nature of the Great Andamanese and the Jarawa. His telling description of the 'Jarawa-hunt' is a good indicator of the inhuman, insulting and intimidating behaviour of British officers towards Jarawas.

Sir R. C. Temple's works on Andamanese languages, in the *Report of the Census of India* 1901, Vol. III gives a good, but brief, description of the Andamanese languages comparing them to the language of the Semangs of the Malay Peninsula and the Aetas of the Philippine archipelago. Temple (1903) proposes the theory of Andamanese being a language isolate and an unusual 'mixed media' style of communication, although it is not clear what the term 'mixed media' meant in those days. Radcliffe-Brown's (1922) *The Andaman Islanders* gives a very brief sketch (ten pages in all) of the Andamanese languages, comparing forms from North Andamanese languages such as Jeru, South Andamanese languages such as Bea and that of Little Andaman, i.e. Onge and bringing out differences among them. His analysis is not without critique of Man and Portman's analysis, but brings home some basic distinctions between various languages. Temple (1903) maintained that "the languages [spoken by the Andaman tribes] all belong to one family, divided into three groups, closely connected to the eye, but mutually unintelligible to the ear" (1994 reprint: 14).⁷

In short, investigations carried out in pre-independent India focused mainly on documenting the lexicon/vocabulary and grammar of the Southern Great Andamanese languages, especially Âkà-Bêa. The Northern Great Andamanese languages were not dealt with in any detail. The study of Onge and Jarawa grammars and lexicon/vocabulary were never

⁷ A detailed grammar was included in the Census Report of 1901: 98–121, which has been left out from the reprint version undertaken by the Government of India, and hence is not accessible to researchers.

attempted. As far as the genealogical classification is concerned, all the languages spoken in the Andaman Islands were considered as belonging to one family, although the linguistic structures of the languages of Great Andaman were considered different from the languages of Little Andaman.

1.4.3 *Study in Post-Independent India*

By the time India gained independence, most of the central and southern Great Andamanese languages were extinct. The North Andamanese languages, such as Sare, Khora, Jeru and Bo were represented by a few speakers and among them semi-fluent speakers outnumbered the fluent ones. Inter-marriage among the tribes generated a kind of 'mixed' tribe speaking a 'mixed' language which draws its lexicon from these four languages but which is primarily based on the Jeru grammar. PGA is thus a koiné (Manoharan 1989) and as of today, only five semi-fluent speakers are left in a community of fifty-six. Jarawa, Sentinelese and Onge are still spoken and transmitted to the next generation. Our knowledge about all of these languages—barring Sentinelese—is far more advanced than it was sixty years ago.

1.5 GENEALOGICAL CLASSIFICATION

Linguists in the post-independent era classified all the languages spoken in the islands as constituting one family (Basu 1952, 1955; Manoharan 1980, 1983). It was on the basis of a pilot survey of the Andamanese languages, i.e., Onge, Jarawa and PGA (Abbi 2003, refer to Table 1.2 on a comparative lexicon given below), that it was indicated that it may be possible to establish the Great Andamanese language(s) as forming one family that is distinct from the language family to which Jarawa and Onge belong.

Subsequent studies of a comparative, historical and typological nature of the three languages based on extensive field work (Abbi 2005, 2006a, 2006b) and fresh data from Jarawa (Kumar 2005), as well as citation of non-linguistic proofs (e.g., cultural, anthropological, archaeological and genetic) substantiated the thesis (Abbi 2009) that the languages of the Andaman belonged to two distinct families, i.e. Great Andamanese and Angan.⁸ It was only after the publication of Abbi (2006) and the first-

⁸ The latter got its name because both Jarawa and Onge call themselves 'Ang', pronounced as *əŋ*. Justin (2000) had also proposed that they should be called *Ung* because of

Table 1.2. Comparative lexicon in Angan and Great Andamanese

English	Angan		Great Andamanese
	Onge	Jarawa	
blood	<i>inace:ŋ</i>	<i>ɔc^heŋe</i>	<i>e-tei</i>
boat	<i>ɖaŋe ci</i>	<i>(cagiya paɖa)-taŋ/daŋ</i>	<i>rowa</i>
bow	<i>ɾya</i>	<i>a:w</i>	<i>ko</i>
child	<i>ici i</i>	<i>ici ə</i>	<i>t^hire</i>
crocodile	<i>tɔyɔgi</i>	<i>torogiyai</i>	<i>sare-ka-teo</i>
crow	<i>wawa</i>	<i>wa:raw</i>	<i>p^haɬka</i>
dog	<i>wə:me, uame</i>	<i>wɔm</i>	<i>ca:w</i>
goat	<i>tik^wabuli</i>	<i>t^hik^hwa-gopejayo</i>	—
laugh	<i>ɪɾya</i>	<i>ənia:</i>	<i>k^hole</i>
water	<i>ɪne</i>	<i>i:ŋ</i>	<i>ino</i>
1SG 'I'	<i>mi</i>	<i>mi</i>	<i>t^hu</i>
hold	<i>ca?</i>	<i>k^ho:</i>	<i>ye-ke</i>
descend	<i>akobelaneka</i>	<i>jagi-yə</i>	<i>lebe</i>
steal		<i>uigəle</i>	<i>top-om</i>
swim	<i>ibolo</i>	<i>waɾa/h-waɾa</i>	<i>ŋɔto</i>
snake	<i>toruba</i>	<i>tobo</i>	<i>fubi</i>

(Based on Abbi 2003, 2006)

hand data on hitherto inaccessible Jarawa (Kumar 2005), that Blevins (2007) came to the conclusion that the 'Ang' languages⁹ were affiliated with the Austronesian language family. The categorisation of Onge-Jarawa as 'Austronesian' (argued by Blevins 2007 as Ongan group) is far from universally accepted. Although it is not conclusively established whether the group Jarawa-Onge belongs to Austronesian, its typological and genealogical distinction from Great Andamanese has been established by Abbi (2006) as the 'Ang' group. Research by geneticists is consistent with linguistic research. Thangaraj et al. (2005) indicated that the two ancient maternal DNA lineages, M31 and M32 in the Great Andamanese and the Onge respectively, have evolved in the Andaman Islands independently from other South and Southeast Asian populations.

The Great Andamanese family is constituted of ten languages, which can be grouped into three varieties: southern, central and northern. Refer to Figure 1.1 and Map 5, the latter very clearly distinguishes the Great Andamanese languages from the Jarawa-Onge, the Ang group of languages.

the similar reason. The name *Jarawa* is given to the tribe by Âkà-Bêa to refer to them as 'stranger', 'one you should be afraid of'.

⁹ She uses the term 'Ongan' for these.

A very valuable account of all the studies undertaken on the languages of the Andamans up until 1988 is given in Zide & Pandya (1989). To date this remains the only detailed and annotated bibliography available on the topic.

A description of the Little Andaman language Onge is given by Dasgupta & Sharma (1982) but is far from satisfactory. There is an urgent need to study Onge in depth before it too becomes a moribund language. We await the publication of a Jarawa grammar but an urgent need for a dictionary of these two languages should be recognised.

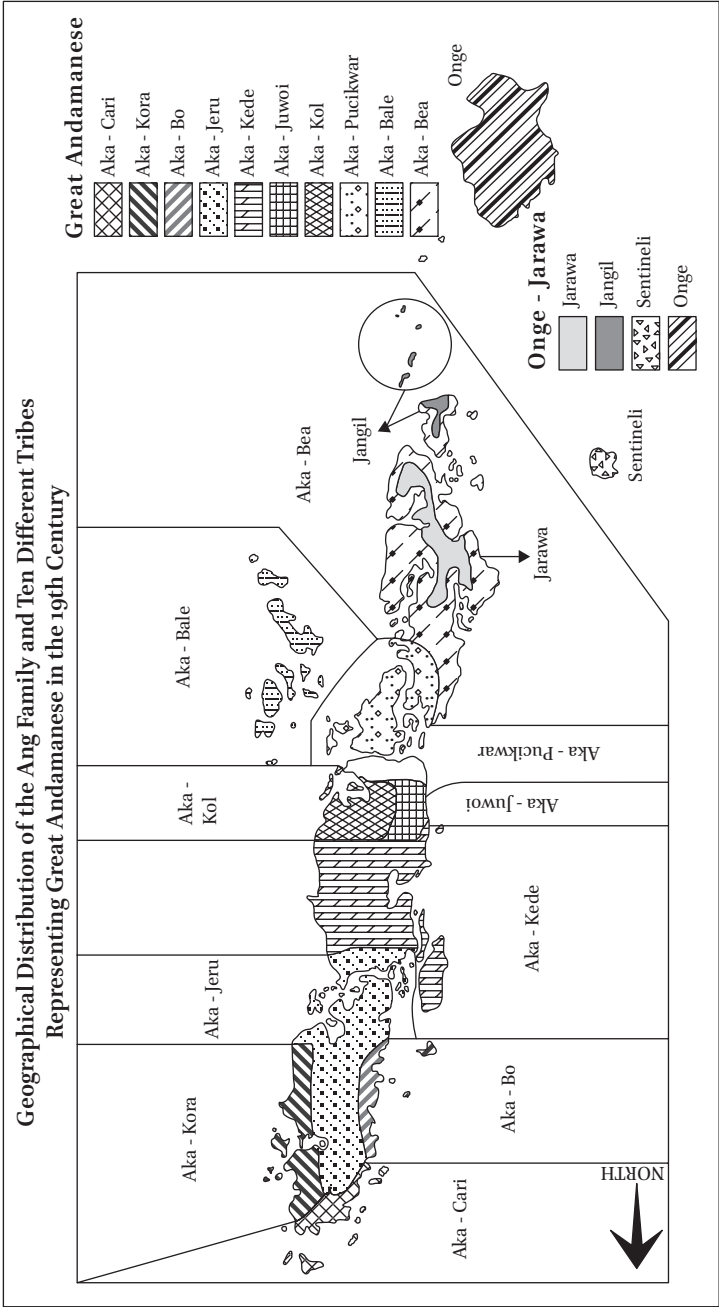
1.6 TYPOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES

The Great Andamanese is a head-marking polysynthetic and agglutinative language with an SOV pattern, and has a very elaborate system for marking inalienability (Abbi 2006b, 2011), which is nested in seven possessive markers designating different body parts (refer to Chapter 3). These markers are further grammaticalised in the language and appear as proclitics which classify dependent nouns including kin terms, attributive and verbal modifiers, transitive verbs and intransitive verbs of experience, ambience, and motion. For instance, extremities of body part terms are preceded by the proclitic *oŋ=* as in *oŋ=kenap* ‘fingers.’ However, the noun for ‘human blood’ *tei*, if oozing out of fingers, is *oŋ=tei*, but the word for ‘fever’ is *i=tei* as *i=* is used for internal body parts. As such, they demonstrate the conceptual world of one of the most ancient cultures. The Great Andamanese conceptualise their world through these interdependencies and hence the grammar of the language encodes this important phenomenon in every grammatical category expressing referential, attributive and predicative meaning. These are highly unusual structures not shared by any other language studied so far.

The Angan languages on the other hand, are agglutinating languages with an SOV clausal structure without the complexities of marking dependencies on every grammatical category. Nor is the lexicon divided into seven divisions as in the case of Great Andamanese.

1.7 THE LAST DECADE

Improved accessibility to the region and the increased interest of young scholars in the field have generated quite a few articles, dissertations and conference papers as well as some very useful online material (www.andaman.org and www.andamanese.net) on extinct and living languages



Map 5. Distribution of the Andaman tribes

of the Andaman. Special mention should be made of Som (2006), Avtans (2006, 2007), and Chaudhary (2007), Chaudhary et al. (2008). An interactive multilingual (English-Great Andamanese-Hindi) dictionary, which contains more than 4000 words, 432 pictures, 900 sound files of individual words and phrases/sentences, approximately 1100 sentences as illustrations, and detailed notes on cultural and indigenous knowledge, is available (Abbi 2012).¹⁰ In addition, a CD of Great Andamanese songs and the first “Book of letters” *Varnamaala* (Abbi et al. 2008), the first sociolinguistic sketch of the Great Andamanese language (Abbi et al. 2007), and an ethnolinguistic work on the names of the Great Andamanese birds brought out by Pande & Abbi (2011) have all helped in archiving the dying language.¹¹ The ongoing work of Kumar (2005) and Abbi & Kumar (2010) have given us indications for probable language contact that existed between the extinct South Great Andamanese language, Âkà-Bêa, and the Angan language spoken in the vicinity, i.e. Jarawa. Although the North Andamanese languages are on their way to extinction, we can be assured that the koinéised variety, which is known as present-day Great Andamanese, is adequately documented for posterity.

1.8 A SOCIOLINGUISTIC SKETCH OF THE GREAT ANDAMANESE

The term ‘fluent speaker’, of any language, generally refers to a person using the language spontaneously and continuously for any duration of time in all domains and contexts. However, this is not the case with the Great Andamanese. Their use of the ‘heritage language’ is sporadic and not spontaneous. A great amount of coaxing was needed to make two of the ‘best speakers’ converse in their own language. Within no time they started taking recourse to Hindi. The only occasion where a member of the tribe would spontaneously use the ‘heritage language’ with another was to exclude a perceived ‘outsider’ from the conversation. It can be said that the language at this stage is best used as a ‘secret code’ rather than as a standard mode of communication. Even when using the language as a secret code, speakers usually engage in short exchanges of words and

¹⁰ This dictionary is prepared in the specially designed Toolbox program of SIL, with an accompanying Lexique Pro on a CD Rom, which gives in addition, etymology of words wherever possible and sources of information.

¹¹ The works cited here were the results of the project *Vanishing Voices of the Great Andamanese* (VOGA) supported by the Hans Rausing Endangered Language Project, University of London (2005–2009).

phrases and not in lengthy conversations. This too is the case with the 'best speakers' of the language. The continuum of language competence among the Great Andamanese that I discuss below should be understood against this background. I use the term 'best speaker' for speakers with the competence level 5 (refer to §1.8.2) and the speakers at level 4 are termed 'semi-speakers.' The term 'best speakers' is used for those who were found to be best among the few members who still use the language although not very fluently and not in all domains. Apart from language loss, the Great Andamanese people also suffer from a loss of cultural heritage, of ancient practices and rituals, as well as a loss of the art of narration. The few people who now speak the language did not remember any native stories. It was noticed that storytelling as an activity does not exist anymore.¹² Neither the young mothers nor the old people of the community ever narrate stories to their children. The loss of the mother tongue has very serious implications as the very genre of narration has also been lost in the contact language, i.e. Andamani Hindi. Thus, the present generation of Great Andamanese have never heard any story from their elders neither in their heritage language nor in Andamani Hindi.

A thorough investigation of the linguistic behaviour of the Great Andamanese towards their own language and culture presents a bleak picture and points towards a future when they will become a group of people who would have totally lost their land, language, tales, songs, art of body painting and many facets of indigenous cultural identity. These are the perils of language loss.

The following is a sociolinguistic sketch based on initial fieldwork conducted during 2005–2007, when the total population of the Great Andamanese was fifty. The number of children under the age of ten years was twenty. There were thirteen members in the age range between twenty and thirty. There were only ten members aged between thirty and eighty. The number of infants, i.e. between the ages of zero to five years, was also thirteen. See Figure 1.3.

The increase in population in the Great Andamanese tribe has been tremendous especially in the last few years. There were only thirty-six

¹² However, Nao Jr., one of the best speakers of the language, did manage to narrate ten folk tales with great effort, although not all in the heritage language. These are submitted for publication with NBT, India. The first folk tale narrated by Nao Jr., *An Ancient Tale from Andaman*, was published in 2012. He narrated folk tales in Hindi after much prodding. It took him, at times, many days to complete a story as he had never narrated one in his life time and had heard them from his elders only when he was a child. Other old members of the community reported loss of memory regarding folk tales. It was a very sad state of affairs as a couple of speakers wanted to oblige us but could not remember anything.

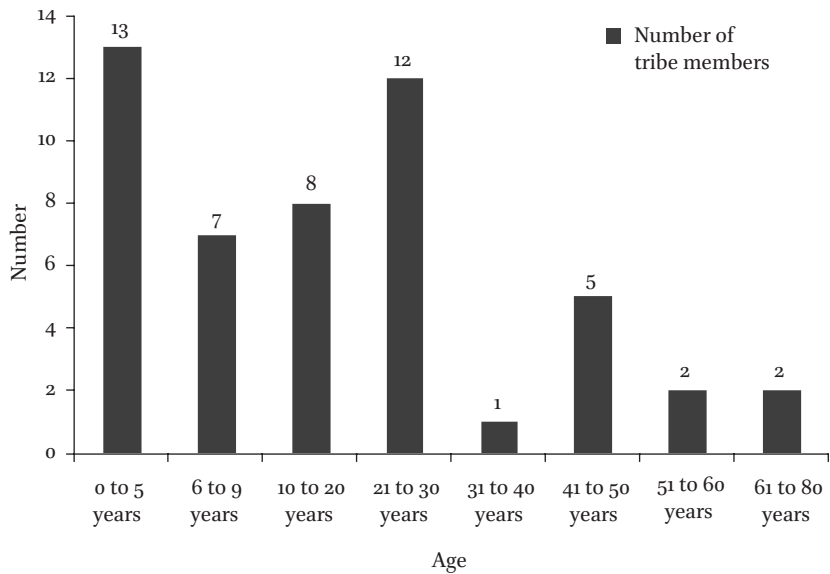


Figure 1.3. The number and age of the Great Andamanese people (2005–2006)

members in 2001 when the author conducted her first fieldwork on the islands but at present there are fifty-six. This indicates that the community is thriving.

1.8.1 *Background of the Great Andamanese Speakers*

The speakers of the Great Andamanese language hail from various backgrounds, some of them have Jeru parents, and some others have a mixed parentage. For example, the parentage of the seven ‘best speakers’ is very varied as can be seen from the following tables. Apart from three of the speakers, all of the others have mixed parentage, i.e. their parents spoke different languages, even though they themselves claim to be Jeru speakers. For example, refer to appendix ‘A’: the genealogical tree of Lico, one of our main consultants. The reality is that although they claim Jeru as their mother tongue, it may actually be a mixed language with inputs from various languages that they have learnt in their childhood. Consider the parentage of the older members of the community. Their children are farther away from the heritage language, although they claim Jeru as their mother tongue. It can be seen from Table 1.4 that one of the younger speakers, speaker no. 14, not only has mixed parentage but also has a wife who is from outside the community and speaks Andamani Hindi.

Table 1.3. The lineage of the oldest and the best speakers

Speakers	Claimed MT	Mother's MT	Father's MT	Spouse's MT
Sp 1 (58) M	Jeru/Bo	Sare	Bo	Jeru
Sp 2 (80) F	Jeru	Bo	Jeru	Jeru
Sp 3 (74) F	Khora	Khora	Khora	Jeru
Sp 4 (60) M	Jeru	Khora	Jeru	Jeru
Sp 5 (45) F	Jeru	Jeru	Jeru	Jeru/Khora
Sp 6 (48) F	Jeru	Jeru	Jeru	Bo
Sp 7 (43) F	Jero	Khora	Bo	Jeru

(The number in brackets indicates the age of the speakers)

Table 1.4. Lineage of the semi-speakers

Speakers	Claimed MT	Mother's MT	Father's MT	Spouse's MT
Sp 8 (43) M	Jeru	Jeru	Jeru	Jeru
Sp 9 (27) M	Jeru	Jeru	Bo	Jeru
Sp 10 (27) M	Jeru	Khora	Jeru	Jeru
Sp 11 (28) M	Jeru	Jeru	Jeru	Jeru
Sp 12 (45) M	Jeru	Khora	Jeru	Jeru
Sp 13 (30) F	Jeru	Khora	Jeru	Jeru
Sp 14 (38) M	Jeru	Khora	Jeru	Andamani Hindi

(The names of the speakers are concealed on purpose)

Interestingly, speaker no. 14 is not the only one who has married outside the community. One of the female members of the community, aged twenty-six (who has a mixed parentage of Jeru & Bo) has recently married a Bengali person. She is not a fluent speaker of the language; her competence level is 3. Hence, an average Great Andamanese could be a Khora speaker, married to a Sare, and speaks Jeru to her neighbours and Andamani Hindi to her children. It is a complex web of multilingualism that an average Great Andamanese builds around her/him.

Marriage with outsiders has resulted in interactions with other community speakers and in the learning of their languages. Although marriage and cohabitation with members outside the community is a recent trend, intermarriages among different sub-tribes of the Great Andamanese is nothing new, as can be seen in Table 1.3. However, with almost everyone claiming Jeru as their mother tongue, the other heritage languages are clearly marginalised and ignored, indicating a 'superiority' complex assigned to the heritage language Jeru. Members are proud to call themselves Jeru speakers even when few of them actually speak it. This

is an unexpected response from an endangered or moribund language community.¹³ In mainland India tribals never like to be associated with a dying language.

1.8.2 *Language Competence*

The analysis of the language competence of present-day Great Andamanese speakers reflects the language's health. When we initially visited the island there were fifty members in the community and among them twelve were below the age of five. Our analysis was based on the population that was above the age of five, for obvious reasons. At the time of the fieldwork, the fluency level of the other thirty-eight members of the speech community was judged, based on a calculation, on a scale of competence ranging from 0-5. The key to the competency levels given below shows the number assigned to speakers on the scale of fluency.

Key to the competency levels

0 = no knowledge of the language

1 = neither speaks nor understands, recognises only a few words

2 = low level of understanding, does not speak

3 = phrase level awareness, but does not speak

4 = semi-speaker, can understand but does not speak the language fully

5 = best speaker, can understand and speak the language

This scale of competence is used in the following graphs as well as in the analysis of the comparative competence level of the Great Andamanese speakers (Figures 1.4 and 1.5).

We can see that the numbers of 'best speakers' and 'semi-speakers' are identical, and together constitute thirty-six percent of the community. The number of speakers in the highest competence group, i.e. level 5, was only seven. These were the best speakers of the language. Another seven members fell into the next level of competence, i.e. level 4, the 'semi-speakers.' These fourteen members of the community, who in quantitative terms constituted a rather small community, could speak the language in some domains and registers. The analysis showed that the highest number of people, i.e. ten in all, was in the group denoted by the number 1, signifying that part of the society which has a very low or negligible understanding of the language. These speakers possessed passive knowledge of only some words of the language, without ever being able to use them.

¹³ A similar situation is observed in the mainland northern belt of India where speakers of most of the marginalized languages claim 'Hindi' as their mother tongue.

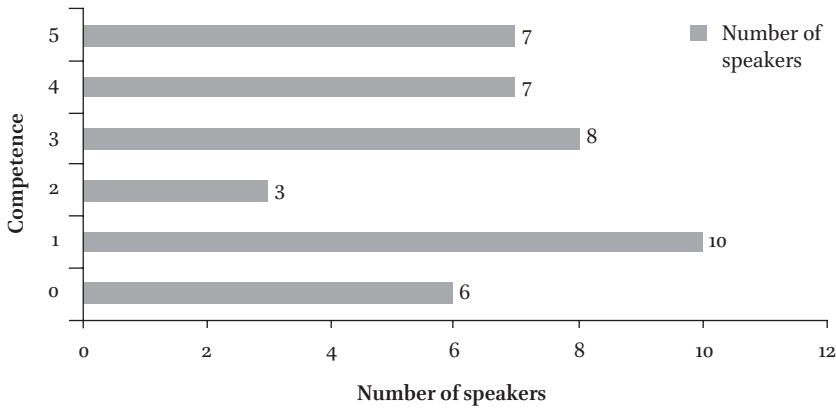


Figure 1.4. Number of speakers on the scale of competence

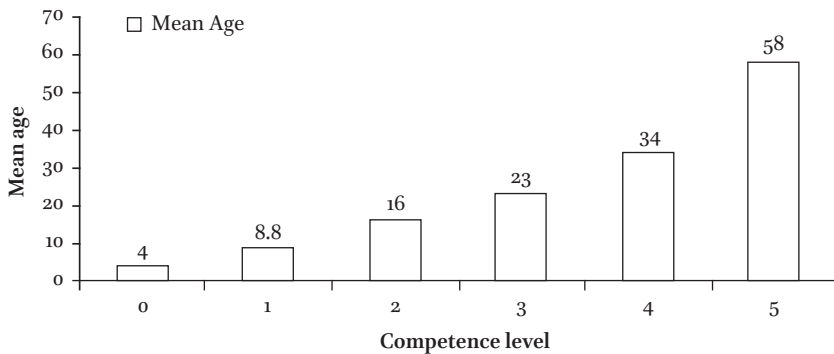


Figure 1.5. Age-wise competence level of the speakers in 2007

The second highest category was occupied by number 3 in the graph, representing the group with phrase level understanding whilst not being able to speak the language. As no two speakers speak the same variety of the language, though they all claim to be speaking Jero/Jeru, comprehensibility of each other's speech is rather low. For instance, the oldest member of the tribe was an eighty-year-old woman, our speaker no. 2 (Table 1.3), whose mother tongue was Bo. Her speech did not share mutual intelligibility with the speech of any other member of the community. Other members somehow 'worked out' what she said.

It is noteworthy that the best speakers were all above the age of forty. The mean age of the semi-speakers was thirty-five. It is clear that the level of competence goes down with age, the oldest having the best and the younger generation having the least knowledge, which shows the gradual

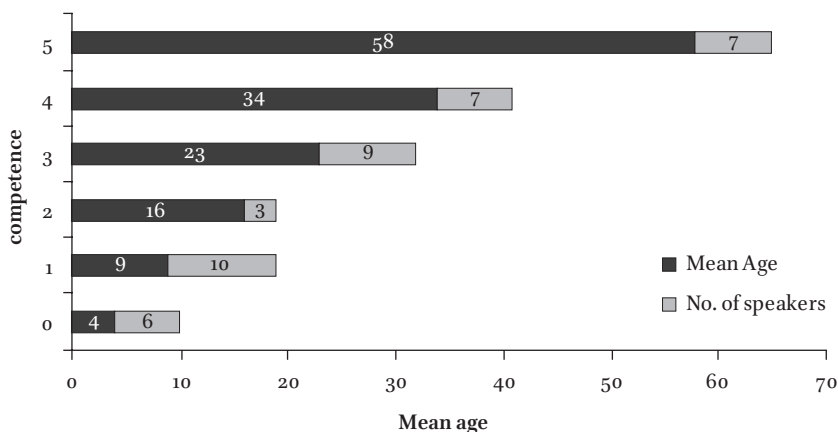


Figure 1.6. The number and mean age of the speakers on the competence scale

process of language erosion. This also clearly indicates that the language is not transmitted from the older generation to the younger generation effectively. The reluctance of the younger members of the community to learn and use the heritage language is also responsible for this decline in their competence level. The graph below (Figure 1.5) clearly indicates the decline in competence level from the older to the younger generation.

Figure 1.6 given below sums up the situation of language competence among the Great Andamanese with respect to the age of the speakers and their number in the community. The members with the highest competence also have the highest mean age. However, the strength of level 5 speakers was very small in 2007 and it has since been further reduced by the passing away of four elderly speakers. The members with a low competence level have a low mean age and their strength is considerably higher than the previous group, indicating the moribund status of the language. Competency level is positively related to age: the higher the age group, the higher the proficiency; the lower the age group, the lower the proficiency in Great Andamanese.

1.8.3 *Language Use*

It is clear by now that the Great Andamanese are no longer monolingual in their heritage language. The few members of the tribe (above the age of forty) who can speak the indigenous language are bilingual, both in Hindi and in the heritage language. The members who are below forty are monolingual in Hindi, which they use as a lingua franca as well

as the home language. Some of the members of the younger generation, especially teenage children, also speak a few words and phrases of English and other Indian languages, such as Bangla and Tamil. Andamanese people are employed in various government departments and hence are exposed to the languages of their colleagues. Marriage outside of the community also further adds to this language pool.

This kind of linguistic mosaic is constantly in the background and decides who uses what language of communication, when and with whom. The intra-community use of Jeru is rare. As mentioned earlier, it is used as a secret code among the oldest members of the tribe. Another important observation is that very few registers are used in the heritage language. For instance, none of the so-called best speakers can narrate an incident or a story (see footnote 12).

With Hindi being the matrix language and the use of the heritage language limited to a few words and phrases, Hindi is used along with present-day Great Andamanese in most of the conversations. There was a not a single instance where a member of the tribe was observed using anything longer than a phrasal communication in the heritage language. Children and young adults use Hindi in most of the domains. It was noticed during the data collection that the older members of the tribe use Hindi to communicate with young and old alike. Interestingly, when posed with a fictitious situation of choosing one's mother tongue, a large number of speakers opted for Hindi.

This brings us to the question of code-switching and code-mixing. Among the Great Andamanese it is more the norm, rather than the exception, to use more than one language in the course of a single conversation. Almost all of the speakers code-switch between Hindi and Jeru while talking in addition to using them as a mixed-code (Avtans & Abbi 2006). However, along with these two languages, their present-day speech indicates the use of vocabulary from other heritage languages, such as Bo, Sare and Khora. Code-switching between Jeru and other heritage languages is very rare. The form of present-day Great Andamanese, at best, can be described as a Koiné.

Our prolonged stay with the members of the community revealed that the so-called 'best speakers' cannot communicate in their respective language varieties in all areas. The non-homogeneity of the community, due to the existing members being descendants of various sub-groups within the Andamanese language family, and hence having different linguistic heritages, could have led to an awkward situation of non-use of one particular indigenous language. It should be noted that the language situation

is highly complicated and unique. Although most of the 'speakers' of the language claim to speak and understand Jeru, our observation is that this is untrue. No two speakers use the same register. Though some of them might understand fellow members' speech, it certainly does not mean they fully comprehend one another. Each of the community members speaks a mixed variety of languages drawing lexicon from four languages, i.e., Sare, Jeru, Khora and Bo, although the grammatical structure does appear to be based on Jeru, the language they all claim to be speaking. In subsequent chapters it will be shown that even this, i.e. the grammatical structure, is not based on one language, but has a mixed base of at least two grammatical structures.

Present-day Great Andamanese is thus the result of leveling of a minimum of two grammatical inputs and of the vocabulary/lexical items from four or five different languages of the same family. The present form of PGA is a Koiné variety which has been learnt by speakers above fifty with varying degrees of lexical input from the language of their father and mother.¹⁴ It is this language which is described in this grammar.

To summarise, the older generation mainly uses the heritage language, with code-switching and code-mixing between Hindi and PGA. All members use these two languages in free variation in intra-community communication. It should be noted that storytelling as an activity hardly exists among the Great Andamanese anymore. Only one member of the community could remember some of their traditional stories, as the traditional art of narration is no longer practised.

However, it must be mentioned here that their traditional songs and the art of singing are not lost. It was observed that the female members of the community still remember a few old songs and they sang them for us. The number of men who could sing these traditional songs was negligible compared to the women. Hence, it is the female members of the community who have retained the treasure of songs: more so than the male members. This observation proves that the life of songs in the heritage language is longer than the life of the language itself. Songs in the original language survive even when the language is no longer in use. While the art of narration perishes in the process of language death, songs and singing are not as adversely affected. Music is a memory-based activity and narration is based on language use. This difference in their cognitive

¹⁴ It is interesting to note that tribes associate themselves by father's tongue and not by mother's tongue.

processes has a serious impact on their retention, as exemplified by the Great Andamanese.

The Great Andamanese love Hindi for its prestige and would not mind if they were given a choice to make Hindi their mother tongue. For further details see Abbi et al. (2007). They do not encourage children to speak the heritage language as they prefer to talk to them in Andamani Hindi. The Great Andamanese prefer to be identified by tribe name rather than by language or religion. One of the causes of the reluctance of the younger generation to learn Great Andamanese is the fact that having knowledge of the heritage language neither provides them with a livelihood nor does it lend them any prestige in society.

1.8.4 *A Complex Situation*

The case of the Great Andamanese language is a complex one: a language on the brink of extinction with merely fifty-six members who comprise the entire speech community, and out of these fifty-six, only five members have varying degrees of competency in PGA. The situation becomes tougher because of the differences in register even among these few best speakers. Although they all claim to speak Jeru, they do not fully understand one another, thus proving that they actually speak various forms of the former Andamanese languages. This was illustrated when two elderly women, one a Bo speaker and the other a Khora speaker, proved to be mutually unintelligible. Currently, it is not easy to completely establish the antecedents of PGA, but similarities with Sare, Khora, and even Bo can be attested through the use of certain words.¹⁵ In addition, the lineage of some of the speakers shows that they had non-Jeru parents (refer to Appendix 'A'). Hence, the use of other languages, such as Khora, Sare, Pujjika and Bo, which are undoubtedly mixed with PGA in their speech.

It can be concluded from the discussion above that present-day Great Andamanese is a moribund language. As reported earlier in §1.8.3, the Great Andamanese people have lost various registers of their language; only one or two registers remain in use today. As there are not many members left in the community who share the same language, the lack of use of PGA has contributed considerably to its loss. The only 'best speakers' left are well over forty years of age, and coupled with the permeation of Hindi even among the older and 'best speakers' of the community, the

¹⁵ The etymology of the words is given in *A Dictionary of the Great Andamanese Language English-Great Andamanese-Hindi* (Abbi 2012).

very need and domains in which to use their heritage language are vanishing. Alongside education and the culture of the work place, daily contact with mainstream people must surely have a direct effect on language erosion. By their own admission, code-switching and code-mixing between Hindi and PGA is far higher than the occasional mixture of a few words that takes place between the other heritage languages.

1.8.5 *The Predicament*

The survival and revival of any language solely depends on its speakers' attitudes towards it. In the case of the Great Andamanese the above mentioned facts clearly show how short the life is for PGA as a heritage language. The only signs of 'revival' that we witnessed were in our subsequent visits during language documentation (Avtans & Abbi 2006). The Great Andamanese were motivated to speak the heritage language among themselves and with us too. However, as we are not permanent members of the community, this interest cannot be sustained. Once a language ceases to be the home language and stops being transferred from generation to generation, one cannot save a language from the imminent danger of death. PGA is a classic example of a dying and moribund language.

To conclude this discussion, we can state that moribund languages are characterised by a lack of will to learn and teach the heritage language.¹⁶ The language does not get transferred from the older to the younger generation. Another important feature of moribund languages is the loss of registers and reduced domains of use. In the restricted domains that the language is used, it shows traces of earlier varieties in lexical items and grammatical structures. The loss of various registers also results in the lack of total mutual intelligibility even among those speakers who have retained the language. Present-day Great Andamanese is a conglomeration of several varieties, having input from two or three other heritage languages. It has taken on the shape of a bilingual mixture with Hindi as a significant constituent. Hence, PGA is both an example of a Koiné as well as of a bilingual mixture. We will describe this very language in the following chapters.

¹⁶ First language attrition has been researched by many linguists in the past; Kees de Bot (2004), Herbert W. Seliger, Robert Michael Vago (1991), and Monika S. Schmid (2011) among others.

1.9 THE GREAT ANDAMANES CULTURE: SOME OBSERVATIONS

1.9.1 *Naming a Person*

An average Great Andamanese person acquires several names during his/her lifetime dependent upon various factors, including ecological. The following table describes these stages and the reason(s) for a change of the given name. The first stage starts with a name being given when the child is still in the womb; hence there is no gender distinction in the names of a person. A female child is given a different name during the course of

Table 1.5. Stages of naming an individual

<i>Stage 1 Child</i> (with a prenatal name)	
<i>Stage 2 Beginning of puberty</i> (Period of Aka-op)	
BOYS	GIRLS
Tattooing on their back (boys are called <i>ejido</i> for a short while and then revert back to their prenatal name)	Flower name, preferably a seasonal one
Between stages 2 and 3 some dietary restrictions are adhered to	
<i>Stage 3 Commencement of adulthood</i> (Ceremony of turtle eating by males and females) The boy is called <i>khimil</i> for a short period. Some food restrictions are lifted for both males and females. Females are still called by their flower name.	
<i>Stage 4 Attainment of adulthood</i> (Honey/dugong/pig eating ceremony) All food restrictions are lifted. Men regain their prenatal names but women do not.	
<i>Stage 5 Marriage</i> Condition for marriage: prospective spouse has to prove his/her hunting prowess; names are not changed	
<i>Stage 6 Birth of the first child</i> Parents are addressed by the same term for a short period	
<i>Stage 7 Parenthood</i> subsequent children; women and men regain their prenatal names	
<i>Stage 8 Death / spirits</i> all prenatal names are prefixed by the honorific <i>maya</i> , e.g. <i>maya.jirake</i> 'the late Mr. Jirake'	

Table 1.6. Honey calendar or names of the seasons

Name of flowers	Associated seasons
<i>jili rɔ</i>	Onset of summer
<i>tipok tɔlɔ</i>	Midsummer
<i>p^hoco tɔlɔ</i>	Intense summer
<i>rɛʈ cer</i>	End of summer and onset of rains
<i>rea tɔlɔ</i>	Onset of mild rains
<i>cɔk^hɔro tɔlɔ</i>	Heavy rains

her life based on the names of flowers. Men undergo name changes more often than women in their life cycle. Consider the following table describing different stages of naming a person.

1.9.2 Naming Seasons: The Honey Calendar

The Great Andamanese honey calendar is based on the names of flowers in bloom during that particular season. This naming process is related not only to the seasonal changes but also to the flowers' inherent relation with the availability of honey. As observed by Radcliffe-Brown (1922: 39) honey occupies a special place in the Great Andamanese pattern of subsistence and movement. The Great Andamanese sub-categorisation of the primary seasons into minor seasons is perhaps more closely related to the availability of honey and its taste or smell (Radcliffe-Brown 1922: 119). Interestingly, the Great Andamanese elders of Strait Island claim to be able to identify the origin of honey by tasting it, i.e. the particular kind of flowers that bees used in making the honey. The blooming of each flower is associated with a change of the season and hence the particular time of the year. Consider Table 1.6 below.

The onset of the rains is symbolised by the compound noun 'bamboo' + 'rain' the *rɛʈ cer*. Here no name of any flower is mentioned.

Man (1923: 182) mentions that the Âkà-Bêa people divided the primary seasons into twenty minor seasons named after flowers in bloom during that particular season. Radcliffe-Brown (1922: 118) provides a list of flower names which were used by the Great Andamanese as reference points of time. His list of flower names in Aka-Jeru and Âkà-Bêa, and the season they are in bloom are given alongside the corresponding months from the Gregorian calendar (see Table 1.7 below).

Table 1.7. Blooming of flowers and associated months of the year

Âkà-Bêa flower	Aka-Jeru flower	Corresponding time
<i>clilipa</i>	<i>celebi</i>	Middle of November to middle of February
<i>moda</i>	<i>mukui</i>	
<i>ora</i>	<i>okor</i>	Middle of February to middle of May
<i>jidga</i>		
<i>vere</i>	<i>jeru</i>	
<i>pataka</i>	<i>boteb</i>	
<i>balya</i>	<i>puliu</i>	Middle of May to end of August
<i>rece</i>	<i>re</i>	
<i>cagara</i>	<i>cokoro</i>	September, October, and the first half of November
<i>carapa</i>	<i>carap</i>	
<i>cenra</i>	<i>torok</i>	
<i>yulu</i>	<i>jili</i>	

1.9.3 *Measuring Time in Great Andamanese*

The Great Andamanese measure the time of an event, the age of a person, the history of their culture and civilization, the antiquity of human evolution, as well as the temporal divisions of a day, according to various parameters. The temporal organisation system is based on references to particular events rather than being based on a particular digital or numeral system. Day-to-day life is organised around temporal divisions which are guided by the movements of the sun and the moon. Four basic temporal categories are recognised.

1.9.3.1 *Parameters of Temporal Categorisation*

Various parameters are used to measure the time of an event. The scale for measuring each event type is distinct. There are four basic temporal zones:

1. Natural time (recurrent phenomena)
2. Life cycle (age of a person)
3. Historical (Pre-/Post-British era)
4. Evolutionary period (mythological source)

1.9.3.2 *Natural Time Parameters*

The time of a day, week or month is measured along the parameters given below:

1. The movement of the sun in the sky
2. The waning/waxing of the moon

3. High and low tides
4. The seasons when flowers and fruits are in bloom
5. Hunting and gathering criteria

1.9.3.3 *Evolutionary Period (Mythological Time)*

Mythological beliefs play a very significant role in the hunter-gatherer society. Seen from this point of view, the evolution of humans, the world and the cosmos have seven reference points. Some of them intersect with each other.

1. The origin of the earth
2. The origin of humans
3. The great flood
4. The great drought
5. The creation and saving of fire
6. The transformation of animals into humans/spirits
7. The transformation of humans into birds

1.9.3.4 *Historical Parameters (Pre-and Post-British Era)*

It is interesting that the Pre-British and Post-British periods are known by the absence and presence of dogs, respectively. Dogs are considered very important animals because of their use in hunting.

1.9.3.5 *Life Cycle (Age of a Person)*

The average age of a person is calculated on the basis of what rites (s)he has performed or undergone. These can be listed as:

1. Birth
2. Puberty rites
3. Turtle eating ceremony (commencement of adult hood)
3. Attainment of adulthood (initiation ceremony: pig/honey/dugong eating)
4. Marriage
5. Birth of each child to the married person
6. Death

The measuring of time can be summarised in Table 1.8 below.

It is not very easy to decipher this table as the stages are not presented in a chronological order. Some of the stages overlap. The Great Andamanese believe that when the Andamanese became birds, there were some animals that transformed into humans or into spirits. However, the origin of the earth precedes all latter stages.

Table 1.8. Measuring time in PGA

Time	Parameter of temporal categorisation
Natural time	Movement of the sun in the sky Waning/waxing of the moon High and low tides Blooming of flowers and fruits Hunting and gathering criteria
Life-cycle (Age of a person)	Birth Puberty Commencement of adulthood Attainment of adulthood Marriage Birth of a child Death
Historical (Pre-and Post-British era)	Introduction of dogs to the island vs. period without dogs
Evolutionary period (Mythological time)	Origin of the earth Origin of humans The great flood The great drought The creation and saving of fire Transformation of animals into humans/ spirits
Late in the period of evolution	Transformation of humans into birds

1.10 THE BELIEFS OF THE GREAT ANDAMANES

The Great Andamanese were hunter-gatherers until a hundred years ago, but they have now adopted an 'urban' way of life. The Great Andamanese do not worship any gods. They do, however, chant mantra-like words before going out on long expeditions in the sea. These words are meant to calm the sea and please the *puluga* (southwest wind). The creator, *mautkochua*, resides in the sky. The Great Andamanese also consider *bilikhu*, the strong wind coming from the south in a godlike sense. Manoharan (1989) mentions a word *adix* for 'god.' But when we tried to confirm this word, our consultants pronounced it as *a-dik* and it meant 'devil' or 'demon.' One speaker used the word *bilikhu-boto* for 'god', but literal translation or morphological analysis of this word is *bilikhu* + storm. They have two more words—*jurwacom* (god or devil of the sea, i.e., sea god) and *motkocua* (the one above all of us). Perhaps this may also mean 'creator.' The words *puluga* and *bilikhu* refer to the same entity. The two are variations in different dialects. The creator is generally not given any rank in

the folk system of classification, or if given, it assumes the highest rank. For further details on this, readers may refer to Pande & Abbi (2011).

1.10.1 *The Domain or Realm*

The Great Andamanese perceive the world to be made up of three unique divisions or domains in which everything else is included. The highest domains for the Great Andamanese are *tɔ* 'sky', where their ancestors dwell. All other beings belong to the forest *tʰimikʰu* and the sea *sare*. They describe trees in a similar way to how a human body is described, its legs (trunk), hands (branches), head (top) etc. This is very common across the world in languages whose communities are very close to the environment, such as hunter-gatherers.

1.10.2 *Major Life Forms and Ethno-Biological Classifications*

The Great Andamanese consider 'life forms' or 'living beings' as superordinate forms and the creatures of the sea, jungle and sky as subordinates. Hence *tajio* 'living beings' are of various kinds: *tajio-tut-bec* 'living beings of hair/feathers', i.e., 'birds', *tajio-tot cor* 'living beings of scales', i.e., 'fish', and *tajio-cɔla* 'living beings of land', i.e., 'animals of the land.'

The classification of ethno-biological entities in Great Andamanese, like many other hunter-gatherer societies, is based on their perception of the world around them. The Great Andamanese recognise at least three kingdoms:

- (a) 'Animals' *tajio-cɔla*
- (b) 'Plants' or 'trees' *tɔŋ*
- (c) 'Humans' *i-shɔŋo*, essentially meaning the 'human body'

Within each kingdom there are further classifications. For example, under (a) animals, the life form categories include:

- (i) Creatures that fly—*em-barate*, such as 'birds' *-tajio-tut-bec* and 'bats' *jibet*, are grouped into one category.
- (ii) Creatures of the water—*ino*, such as 'fish' *tajio-tot-cor*, 'frogs' *phorube*, 'turtles' *cokbi*, 'dugong' *kɔroɪn*, 'shells' *bun*, 'corals' *buruku*, 'clams' *coay*, and 'muscles' *dɪʰu*.
- (iii) Creeping creatures—'lizards' *teo* or *teyo*, 'snakes' *shubi*, 'geckos' *toʔemo*, 'monitors' and 'crocodiles' *sare-ka-teo*.
- (iv) Large creatures of the land *tajiochola*, such as 'hogs' *ra*, 'jungle cats' *kheje*, 'rat' *bɔrot-toʔe*, and 'dog' *cao*.
- (v) Small creatures of the land—*taoe*, such as 'insects' *durj*, 'bees' *phulimu*, and 'worms' *bullu*, etc.

Each life form category is usually divided into intermediates, which is the rank between life form and folk-generic categories.

The Great Andamanese people recognise different folk specifics and a subclass of folk generics, mainly on visible attributes. One can also see that there is a high level of correspondence between folk generics in Great Andamanese ethno-taxonomy and scientific taxa, (for details see Pande & Abbi 2011). Our detailed study shows that the Great Andamanese classification system is consistent with ethno-biological classifications of other non-literate tribal societies (Berlin 1992; Forth 2004), indicating that humans everywhere recognise nature's structure in essentially the same way (Bulmer 1974). It can be seen that the Great Andamanese ethno-taxonomy is consistent with the general principles and ideology of scientific classification, as observed analytically for several other non-tribal societies (Berlin 1992).

1.11 THE BIOLOGICAL UNIVERSE OF THE GREAT ANDAMANES

The Great Andamanese used to live in the tropical forests of Andaman. This gave them a natural habitat rich in a specific type of flora and fauna, which were an integral part of their hunter gatherer life-style. What remains today in the memories of the surviving tribe members are a few vocabulary items without real world referents. As mentioned earlier in the chapter, the present-day Great Andamanese are said to be the descendants of the North Andaman group of tribes that comprised, predominantly, of coastal dwellers. This is one of the reasons why the lexicon provided in the dictionary (Abbi 2012) is so rich in the names of fish and other sea creatures.

The available literature on the Andamanese tribal groups, from the 1800s until the present date, has focused on the culture and traditions of these groups. The early available studies by scholarly-minded missionaries are, for the most part, anthropological in nature. There have been few ethno-biological explanations. Although some studies mention certain plants and animals, a detailed study of the tribes' knowledge of this topic, how this is represented in their language, and more significantly, how this knowledge and their culture interact in their domain of conceptualisation have thus far remained unexplored. This grammar is a mere reflection of how the Great Andamanese conceptualise their world and organise their language.

The conceptual structures of lexical items and how they form sentences in an endangered language are extremely important as a reflection of the

collective mental representation of ideas by the surviving members of a speech community, who are negotiating meaning in a fiercely multilingual world—a world which is far removed from their own conceptualisation. As the Great Andamanese population are known to be the descendants of the early migrations from Africa about 70,000 years ago, and as they were living in isolation until the end of the 18th century (Kashyap et al. 2003), their language exposes to us an ancient world view. It is unfortunate that this language is on the brink of extinction.

1.12 THE PRESENT STUDY

The present study analyses PGA as spoken on Strait Island and in parts of Port Blair. There are ten chapters to this grammar, followed by the appendices including maps, graphs and a sample text. As certain structures of the language were found to be unique, Chapter 3, which is a ‘Grammar overview’, familiarises the reader with the basics in addition to the axioms necessary to comprehend what follows in the subsequent chapters. In this respect, it is the most important chapter of the present grammar. It would be beneficial if the reader were to read this chapter before moving on to the others. Readers may find phonetic variation in forms within and across chapters as our data comes from various speakers who have retained some of the sounds/phones of their original heritage language. These variations have been explained in the chapter on phonology. The only text with interlinear translations that was available to us, after a long period of working with the community members,¹⁷ is the Creation Myth, the story of *Phertajido*, the first Great Andamanese or the first human being. This is given at the end of the grammar.

¹⁷ For details on the elicitation of folk tales and the difficulties in acquiring them, one can consult *A Dictionary of the Great Andamanese Language. English-Great Andamanese-Hindi* (Abbi 2012).

CHAPTER TWO

PHONETICS AND PHONOLOGY

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter the sound system of present-day Great Andamanese (PGA) will be presented. Firstly, the vowels and their distribution will be discussed, followed by vowel sequences and then phonotactics. Secondly, the consonants, their distribution and phonotactics will be presented. PGA has some very unusual consonants which warranted acoustic study. The discussion and the results of this study are given in Appendix B. Next, the nature of the syllable is discussed. A high variation among the speakers in the inventory of vowels and consonants was noted, most likely because of the ‘koiné’ and ‘mixed’ nature of the language. Another factor leading to such variation could be that as the language is on the verge of extinction, community members do not remember many words and their exact pronunciation, and therefore offer varied sounds for the same word. The indifference of the speakers towards the language could also lead to such variation.

2.1 VOWELS

Great Andamanese has a seven-vowel system, as shown in Table 2.1. Many combinations of vowel sequences and clusters are possible, as shown in Tables 2.3 and 2.4. The phonemic inventories of the vowels and consonants were established by eliciting minimal pairs for most of the sounds. Where minimal pairs were not available, the judgments of the native speakers about the phonological contrasts were taken into account.

Table 2.1. Vowels of Great Andamanese

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i		u
Half close	e		o
Half open	ɛ		ɔ
Open			ɑ

During the first phase of fieldwork (2001–2002), I recorded the mid-central vowel, schwa [ə], in the data. However, subsequent visits to the speech community and digital recordings of the vowel have indicated that the language, in fact, lacks this central vowel. There is only one unrounded back vowel and that is *a*. The rendering of Hindi words such as *bānao* ‘make’, were realised as *banao*. It was observed that contrast was neutralised across speakers. For example, we noticed that although *e* and *a* stand in contrast, speakers use them interchangeably in some words. There was a similar situation with the back vowels *o* and *ɔ*, as well as with *o* and *u*, which were in free variation (at times within the speech of the same speaker), despite the fact that the two sounds do offer contrast in minimal pairs. Measured on the scale of *The World Atlas of Language Structures* (Haspelmath et al., 2005), PGA’s vowel system falls under ‘large vowel quality inventories’, a characteristic feature of about a third of the world’s languages.

2.1.1 Phonemic Contrasts

Some of the minimal pairs and sub-minimal pairs that we could attest are given below.

2.1.1.1 Front Vowels

/e/ : /i/

/issu-e/	‘burn’ [Vt]
/esso-i/	‘stitch’ [Vt]
/eji-bom/	‘he flies’
/ijji-kom/	‘he eats’
/bule/	‘big creek’
/buli/	‘the one who takes back something or somebody’
/beno/	‘to sleep’
/biŋo/	‘to hear’, ‘think’

/i/ : /ɛ/

/iboi/	‘cooked food’
/ɛ boi/	‘spouse’

/ɛ/ : /e/

/beŋ/	‘muck’
/beŋ/	‘forehead’ ~ [be:ŋ]
/en/	‘a kind of leaf’
/ɛn/	‘wound’

/ɛ/ : /a/	
/ara-ɕɛ/	'sting'
/ara-ca/	'nest'

2.1.1.2 Back Vowels

/a/ : /o/	
/ɲa/	'bark'
/ɲo/	'stay'
/lea/	'slow'
/leo/	'younger than'

/a/ : /ɔ/	
/p ^h ar/	'boil/pimple'
/p ^h ɔr/	'bamboo'
/kabo/	'a deity'
/kɔbo/	'skin'

/o/ : /ɔ/	
/kobu/	'umbrella'
/kɔbu/	'plates made of <i>silai</i> leaf'
/tɔle/	'pluck' (IMP)
/tɔle/	'flowers'
/ɛp ^h ɔke/	'take out from hot fire'
/ɛp ^h oke/	'kill' (IMP)
/ɛrkɔ ^h o/	'nose'
/ɛrkot ^h o/	'mix'

/u/ : /o/	
/arap ^h o/	'fell a tree'
/arap ^h u/	'latrine/stool'

2.1.2 Length

Length at the phonemic level could only be attested for a few vowels. However, it was noticed that the speakers occasionally varied between the absence and presence of vowel length. Vowel length has been specified where it is important for the pronunciation of the word, especially in the words which are derived from the Bo variety. Words derived from the Sare variety also show distinctive vowel length. The last speaker of the Bo language, Boa Sr., had distinctive length in her speech. Vowel length has been specified by a colon mark [:] placed after the long vowel. It can be postulated that the earlier version of the language had phonemic length, as was documented by Manoharan (1989), although this is apparently no

longer the case. Some examples demonstrating vowel length are given below:

/ɑ:/ : /ɔ:/ (sub-minimal pair)

/ba:ʔom/ 'a kind of fish'

/bɔ:ʔom/ 'ties up'

/ka:ba/ 'edible fruit'

/kɔ:bo/ 'skin'

/a/ : /ɑ:/

/aratta/ 'convince'

/ara:ttay/ 'mensuration'

/cao/ 'dog'

/cɑ:o/ 'rain fish'

/e/ : /e:/

/jibet/ 'small bat'

/jibe:t/ 'swallow' (N)

/i/ : /i:/

/jili/ 'snail'

/ji:li/ 'aunt' (father's brother's wife)

/o/ : /o:/

/bol/ 'fish'

/bo:l/ 'cane, fresh water snake'

/u/ : /u:/

/burul/ 'white fish'

/bu:rul/ 'a kind of fish'

/bun/ 'sea shell', 'a kind of snail'

/bu:n/ 'spoon'

Although there is a minimal pair [bun] and [bu:n] available in the language, distinction in length is neutralised for some speakers as we also find [bun] ~ [bu:n] 'sea shell.'

2.1.3 *Phonotactics of Vowels*

The phonotactics of the vowel sounds in initial, medial and final positions can be presented as follows in Table 2.2.

Table 2.2. Distribution of vowels

Segments	Initial	Medial	Final
/i/	<i>ikko</i> 'burn'	<i>bi^he</i> 'ashes'	<i>subi</i> 'snake'
/i:/	<i>i:ople</i> 'light'	<i>ʃi:d</i> 'hunt'	—
/e/	<i>ekko</i> 'open'	<i>ʃhumel</i> 'honeycomb'	<i>i:eke</i> 'to hold'
/e:/	<i>e:ʃɔɾɔ</i> 'to grind'	<i>le:c</i> 'arrow'	<i>bi^hthe</i> 'ashes'
/ɛ/	<i>ɛr</i> 'genitive'	<i>rɛp^he</i> 'rice'	<i>ʃɛlnɛ</i> 'type of mosquito'
/ɛ:/	—	<i>jiɛ:r</i> 'rain'	<i>ɛsɔɾɛ</i> 'sing'
/ɑ/	<i>arakaʃa</i> 'dwarf'	<i>k^holam</i> 'to laugh'	<i>ʃ^hɛr boa</i> 'my lips'
/ɑ:/	<i>a:ʃ</i> 'wood'	<i>ʃhoŋ kena:p</i> 'my fingers'	<i>-ɔkka</i> 'benefactive'
/ɔ/	<i>ɔn</i> 'a jungle tree'	<i>ʃɔk^hɔtec</i> 'leaf'	<i>cɔɾɔɔ</i> 'bird'
/ɔ:/	<i>ɔ:tɔ</i> 'day'	<i>bɔ:r</i> 'air'	<i>ʃɔ</i> 'sky'
/o/	<i>oʃʃa:lar</i> 'bald'	<i>boco</i> 'peel'	<i>ɛr-ino</i> 'tears'
/o:/	<i>o:cɔ</i> 'net'	<i>p^ho:ŋ</i> 'mouth'	<i>kuro</i> 'palm tree'
/u/	<i>uluk^hu</i> 'python'	<i>ʃ^huŋ kara</i> 'my nail'	<i>ʃ^hiliu</i> 'cloud'
/u:/	—	<i>ʃɛr bu:o</i> 'my ear'	—

2.1.4 Vowel Sequences/Clusters

PGA is rich in vowel sequences or vowel clusters. Vowel clusters involving both short and long vowels were attested. In addition, some speakers use an epenthetic semi-vowel between short vowels within a word. For example, some speakers use the palatal semi-vowel *y* as in *ia* > *iya*, or the rounded back semi-vowel *w* as in *ua* > *uwa*, perhaps because of the influence of Hindi. However, only a few speakers use such epenthetic insertions and they do not use them consistently. One of our speakers, Peje, never used a semi-vowel between two vowels. Some instances of three vowel sequences were also attested. However, in the current form of the language, variation exists, e.g.

[coai ~ cowai ~ cowa:i] 'clam'

Sporadic incidences of four vowel sequences [ioeo] were also noticed in compounds:

mio.eone 'lemon juice'

Consider the following Tables 2.3 and 2.4.

Table 2.3. Vowel clusters in PGA

Two vowel sequences		Three vowel sequences (mostly word-finally)
Initial front vowel	Initial back vowel	
<i>ia, iu, io, i:ɔ, ie, i:e, iɛ,</i> <i>ei, eo, eɔ, ea, eu</i>	<i>ua, uo, uɔ, ui, ue</i> <i>oa, o:a, oɔ, o:ɔ, ou, oi,</i> <i>oe, o:e, oɛ</i> <i>ɔi, ɔ:e, ɔe, ɔɛ, ɔo, ɔa</i>	<i>aiɛ</i> [ɛncaie] ‘spoil’ <i>aou</i> [ɛr=laoyu] ‘tattoo on the forehead’ <i>aia</i> [maia] ‘Sir’ <i>aɛo</i> [a-mae.ot-ɲo] ‘house of our forefathers’ <i>eia</i> [eia] ‘OK’ <i>eoɛ</i> [p ^h eoɛ] ‘movement of turtle in water’ <i>iue</i> [ɛr=liue] ‘shave’ ‘clean’ <i>ieu</i> [finlieu] ‘pulsating pain’ <i>ioi</i> [e=mioi] ‘sour’ <i>oio</i> [e=boio] ‘ripen’
<i>ɛo, ɛo, ei, ɛ:i, ɛɔ</i>		
	<i>ao, a:o, a:u, au, aɛ, a:e,</i> <i>ae, ai</i>	

A variety of combinatory possibilities of vowel clusters in all positions is a rather striking feature of the language. Other languages of the Andaman Islands, namely Onge and Jarawa do not show such a pattern (Abbi 2006). Consider Table 2.4.

Table 2.4. Phonotactics: two vowel sequences

V + V	Initially	Medially	Finally
<i>ia</i>	[iaretə:ke] ‘study’	[k ^h iarasene] ‘tall person’	[bulia] ‘a kind of song’
<i>ie</i>	[ie] ‘venom’	[p ^h inliem] ‘have throbbing pain’	[itkie] ‘turn’
<i>iɛ</i>	[iɛke] ‘catch’	[uliɛm] ‘whistle’	—
<i>iu</i>	[iulo] ‘loose’	[eliutɛsɛ] ‘give someone a name’	[biu] ‘incense’
<i>io</i>	[iome] ‘shower’	[liot] ‘a kind of red fish’	[tqjio] ‘creature’
<i>i:ɔ</i>	[i:ɔple] ‘light’	[cokbiot-homo] ‘turtle flesh’	—
<i>ea</i>	—	[reɑɬɔlo] ‘onset of mild rain’	[ɑleɑ] ‘slowly’
<i>ei</i>	[ei] ‘vomit’	[keip] ‘coloured mixture’	[birei] ‘bat’
<i>eo</i>	[eone] ‘juice’	[ekceoxe] ‘row’	[meo] ‘stone’
<i>eɔ</i>	[eɔle] ‘see’	[teɔleɔ] ‘small knife’	[jelɔjeɔ] ‘evening tide’

Table 2.4 (*cont.*)

V + V	Initially	Medially	Finally
<i>eu</i>	[eure] 'song'	—	[baleu] 'go hunting'
<i>ei</i>	[eibiɬki] 'carrier'	[mik ^h utɛic] 'stomach pain'	[bei] 'liquor'
<i>ɛ:i</i>	—	[laotɛ:itutbec] 'a migratory bird'	[ɛ:i] 'puberty'
<i>eo</i>	[ɛople] 'light'	[ɛɛobol] 'rope attached to spear'	[ɛlɛo~ɔ] 'infant'
<i>ɛɔ</i>	[ɛɔɾɔk ^h ui] 'young man'	—	[ɛɔ] 'spear'
<i>oa</i>	—	[amaetoat ^h umimi] 'aunt'	[tɔa] 'layers of stone'
<i>oi</i>	[oinɬiŋ] 'pant'	[boitercek] 'kind'	[aracoi] 'outsiders'
<i>oe/oe</i>	—	[juroetatorŋ] 'dancing ground'	[iboɛ] 'refined oil'; [noe] 'hit'
<i>oɔ</i>	—	—	[akatoɔ] 'choke'
<i>ou</i>	—	[dɛk ^h ouleko] 'ejaculation'	—
<i>ɔe/ɔ:ɛ</i>	—	[kɔ:el] 'later'	[mɔɬkɔɾɛ]
		[kɔemo] 'lice'	'left leg';
			[cɔ:ɛ] 'a kind of tree'
<i>ɔɛ</i>	—	—	[ɛɾbelɔɛ] 'pimples'
<i>ɔi</i>	—	[kɔɾɔiŋ] 'dugong'	[mɔɾɔi] 'water current'
<i>ɔo</i>	[ɔo] 'sky'	[tɔo.uk ^h e] 'sky god'	[tɔo] 'sky'
		[dɛk ^h ɔok ^h ɔŋa] 'aware'	
<i>ɔa</i>	—	[ɾɔaterk ^h uro] 'a large boat'	[okɔɬɔa] 'dugong-chest'
<i>ui</i>	[uilem] 'piss', [uibotɬ] 'shoot'	[cɔk ^h uirabelo] 'ring finger'	[bui] 'North Andaman'; 'a kind person'
<i>ue</i>	[uem] 'draw water'	[eruluettol] 'spectacles'	[a:ɬuɬue] 'burn logs'
<i>uo</i>	—	[duoc'] 'hear'	[ɛɾbuo] 'ears'
<i>ua</i>	[uage] 'a shell'	—	[mɔtkocua] 'divine figure'; [lurua] 'Bluff Island'
<i>au</i>	—	[arauli] 'tail'	—
<i>ao</i>	[aone] 'sit'	[talaog] 'a kind of white clay'	[cao] 'dog'
	[ao] 'a kind of leaf'		

Table 2.4 (*cont.*)

V + V	Initially	Medially	Finally
<i>ai</i>	—	[akaile] ‘return’ [etaife] ‘keep’	[balaɽbai] ‘Andaman Drongo’
<i>ae ~ a:e</i>	—	[aracaecaɽo] ‘slow learner’	[alae] ‘palate’; [la:e] ‘sugar- cane’

It is observed that no two identical vowels occur in any position. For further information refer to section 2.6 on morphophonemics.

2.2 SEMI-VOWELS/GLIDES¹

In most Indian languages, except those of the Tibeto-Burman group, an epenthetic semi-vowel can be inserted between two vowels. PGA has both kinds of structures. It has words with two vowel clusters which form two syllabic peaks, as well as structures with a semi-vowel inserted between two vowels (refer to §2.1.4 above).

It has been noticed that PGA also offers ample examples of glide insertion between two vowels. This appears to be a recent phenomenon due to contact with Hindi which does not allow vowel clusters. Hindi is the first language of the majority of the Great Andamanese members. Those for whom it is not the first language use it for communicating with their children. Documentation of some of the North and Central Andamanese languages by Portman (1887) also does not show any glide insertion. One can speculate that the former structure with VV clusters is older than the latter.

Consider Table 2.5.

Table 2.5. Intervocalic semi-vowels

V-SV-V	Glide insertion	Semi-vowel
ao-u	[erlaoyu] ‘mark’, ‘wrinkles’	y
a-a	[kacawa] ‘broken stones’ [maya] ‘deceased’	w, y

¹ I am using *y* for the palatal semi-vowel and *j* for the palatal voiced stop throughout the text.

Table 2.5 (*cont.*)

V-SV-V	Glide insertion	Semi-vowel
ei-a	[eiya] 'interjection'	y
e-o	[k ^h otewo] 'get away'	w, y
	[obeyo] 'sting'	
ε-o	[kewo] 'a kind of red crab'	w
i-a	[diya] '3PL.(proximate)'	y
i-e	[itkiye] 'turn'; [erəqiye] 'gather'	y
i-u	[araliyu] 'pull out'	y
i-ε	[iyεke] 'roast'	y
i-o	[iyome] 'shower'; [firiyo] 'boil'	y, w
	[liwo] 'say'	
o-a	[rowa] 'boat',	w, y
	[boya] 'outrigger'	
oi-o	[olaitoiyo] 'stagnant'	y
o-e	[soye] 'the sui tree'	y
o-o	[burəkowo] 'Andaman Crane'	w, y
	[koyop] 'impotent'	
ɔ-e, ɔ:-e	[cɔye] 'catch by force'; [cɔ:ye] 'father's sister's husband'	y
ɔ:-o	[etta:rɔ:wo] 'fence'	w
ɔ-a, ɔ:-a	[pɔwa] 'leftovers'	w, y
	[yerɔ:yato] 'a kind of tree'	
u-e	[uyem] 'draw water'	y

Word-final semi-vowels or glides have been attested in the language. While the semi-vowel *w* can occur after both front and back vowels, its palatal counterpart *y* occurs only after back vowels, word-finally. Consider Table 2.6.

Table 2.6. Words that end in semi-vowels

Final -y/-w	Examples
-ow	[tɔw] 'a kind of tree'
-oy	[co:y] 'a kind of tree'
-o:y	[irxuɔo:y] 'circle'
-ɔw	[ebicɔ:w] 'posterior of a dugong'
-ɔy	[rɔy] 'salty'; [ewoɔɔ:y] 'shoulder bone'
-ɔ:y	[cɔ:y] 'grandmother'
-aw	[formuca:w] 'lion, tiger'
-ay	[kolay] 'a kind of shell'
-uw	[ertiyuw] 'cap'
-uy	[ullu:y] 'whistle'
-ew	[kɔrole:w] 'torch'

The occurrence of word-initial semi-vowels is also observed in PGA. Note that there are no words which begin with the labial semi-vowel *w*.

Table 2.7. Words that begin with semi-vowels

Initial y-	Examples
ye-	[yeke] 'hold'
ya-	[yak ^{hi}] 'pain', 'hurt'
yo-	[yoŋatpo] 'load'
yɔ-	[yɔ] 'god'
yu-	[yulu jili] 'a flower'

2.3 CONSONANTS

As far as the consonants are concerned, some unusual sounds² were observed, such as bilabial fricatives, both voiced and voiceless [β], [Φ], and the labialised lateral [l^w] (at least in one speaker, Peje). (Refer to Appendix 'B'). PGA does not have the voiced velar sound [g] and the voiceless glottal fricative [h]. The former sound was present in the Middle Andaman languages such as Pujjukar/Puchikwar (Basu 1952) which is now extinct and in the languages of South Andaman (Man 1875–1878, 1923). This sound was observed in songs sung by old people, as well as in the name of one of our consultants—'Golāt', therefore the sound must have existed in one of the Great Andamanese languages spoken in the past. Conversely, we noticed the acquisition of [h] from Hindi in the speech of some of the younger speakers. The following sounds are in free variation at the intra-community level, i.e., within the same clan, sometimes by the same speaker.

Table 2.8. Intra-community variation of unusual sounds

[$\Phi \sim p^h \sim f$]
[$\beta \sim l \sim w \sim l^w$]
[$k^h \sim x$]
[$s \sim \int \sim c \sim c^h$]
[$r \sim \mathfrak{r}$]
[$t \sim \mathfrak{t}$]

² "Unusual" because no other Indian language contains these sounds.

Table 2.9 gives an overview of variation among the speakers. The claimed father tongue(s) by each speaker is given in parentheses.³ The sounds in free variation vary from speaker to speaker, thus confirming the hypothesis that the existing speakers of the language are not descendants of the speakers of one language, but instead are the descendants of speakers of different varieties of the same language family. In other words, PGA represents inter-group free variation. However, the substitution of sounds in free variation does not disturb the comprehension of the word under consideration. One can see that the speech of the speaker Noe is influenced by her husband, Peje, who comes from a mixed background of Khora and Jeru.

Table 2.9. Phonetic variation across community members

Surmai (Jeru) F	t	ɸ	p ^h	b	l	a	r
Boro Sr. (Khora) F	t	c ^h	Φ	b	l	ai	ɹ
Boa Sr. (Bo) F	t	c ^h	p ^h	b	l	a	r
Noe (Jeru) F	t	ɸ	f	β	l ^w ~ l	a	r
Peje (Khora and Jeru) M	t	ɸ	Φ	β	l ^w	ai	r
Lico (Sare and Khora) F	t	s	p ^h	b	l	a	r
Nao Jr. (Jeru) F	t	ɸ	p ^h	b	l	a	r

The intra-community variation results in a large number of sound inventories, as shown in Table 2.10 on consonants. The non-phonemic sounds that occur less frequently are given in brackets in the table. Our consultant, Peje, for example, does not have the lateral [l] in his verbal repertoire as he invariably uses [l^w] in all positions where the other members use [l]. This could be an idiosyncratic feature of Peje's speech or it could be a relic of the extinct languages of the family. Refer to appendix 'B'.

Considering the variations and the unusual sounds which are present in PGA, it is categorised with certain languages that are marked as having 'heavy' or 'larger' inventories of sounds, and by implication, (Lindblom & Maddieson 1988)⁴ PGA could be said to consist of complex consonants.

PGA seems to have changed since Manoharan (1989) reported his work. He had transcribed many of the words with the labio-dental fricative [f],

³ The name of the language(s) and the names of the original sub-tribe that a speaker belongs to are the same.

⁴ As mentioned in *The World Atlas of Language Structures* (Haspelmath et al., 2005).

while our speakers mostly used the voiceless bilabial aspirated plosive [p^h]. Some speakers also used the voiceless bilabial fricative [Φ]. Specifically, Peje and his wife Noe produced this sound.⁵ The voiced counterpart [β] was also sporadically attested in the speech of one or two consultants.⁶ One can safely say that the bilabial fricatives are on their way to extinction as our database has very few words with these sounds. They seem to be replaced by bilabial aspirates. Similarly, the voiceless velar fricative [x] has changed over the last forty years to a voiceless velar aspirated plosive [k^h] due to Hindi influence. We have tried our best to capture both of these sounds (refer to Abbi 2012). Only one speaker, a woman aged 76 called Boro, who was originally a Khora speaker, used the retroflex trill (we use the symbols [ɽ] for this in the text): this also has been documented. Sounds such as [Φ, β, ɽ, x, l^w, w] that occur least often are given in parentheses. All other sounds occur at phonemic level.

Table 2.10. Consonants of Great Andamanese

Place: Manner:	Bilabial		Labio- Dental	Dental		Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal		Velar
Plosives	p	b		t	d		ɽ ɽ̌	c	j	k
Aspirated plosives	p ^h			t ^h			t ^h			k ^h
Nasals		m				n			ɲ	ŋ
Trills						r	(ɽ)			
Fricatives	(Φ)	(β)	(f)		s			ʃ		(x)
Laterals		(l ^w)				l				
Approxim- ants/glides		(w)							y	

The interchangeability of sounds, at times, occurred within the speech of the same speaker, indicating the sound in transition. For instance, our main consultant Nao Jr often varied between dental [t] and retroflex [ɽ] as in the word *ara-qileṭmo* ~ *ara-qileṭmo* ‘bladder’ etc. These variations exist despite the fact that the two sounds stand in contrast. The only reason that can be ascribed to such variation by the same speaker is the fact that

⁵ My recent visit to Andaman in 2009 showed that Noe had lost [Φ] in favour of [p^h] due to contact with her fellow community members who also use [p^h] under the influence of Hindi.

⁶ Our consultant Golat used [β] although he was the son of Boro Sr., the Khora speaker who had [b] in her verbal repertoire.

the language is dying fast and speakers no longer use it in their daily life. This lack of use of the language and indifferent attitude towards the use of the heritage language seem to be a significant reason for the genesis of sound variation in the lexicon as well as in syntactic constructions.⁷

2.3.1 *Phonemic Contrasts:*

Minimal and Sub-Minimal Pairs for Consonants

Despite the intra-community variation, we could attest some minimal pairs to show clear-cut phonemic contrasts.

2.3.1.1 *Nasals*

There are four distinct nasal consonants at the phonemic level. /m/: /n/: /ɲ/ : /ɳ/

/m/	bilabial nasal
/n/	alveolar nasal
/ɲ/	palatal nasal
/ɳ/	velar nasal

These four nasal consonants contrast with each other in initial, medial and final positions.

<i>k^huɲi</i>	‘a fish’
<i>k^hun</i>	‘bring’
<i>k^hum</i>	‘side shoulder’
<i>biɲo</i>	‘think’
<i>bino</i>	‘sleep’
<i>ben</i>	‘back shoulder bone’
<i>beɲ</i>	‘forehead’
<i>ɲa</i>	2SG
<i>ɲa</i>	‘eat’
<i>ekɬɛɲe</i>	‘sputum’
<i>ekɬɛne</i>	‘pull it’

2.3.1.2 *Oral Stops*

There are thirteen oral stops, most occurring in contrasting pairs. The language has ample examples of voiced and voiceless dental and retroflex

⁷ For further information on the speakers and instances of use of the above variation, readers should consult *A Dictionary of the Great Andamanese Language* (Abbi 2012) which contains all the citations for the aforementioned variations.

stops. Only the voiceless sounds are aspirated. We will first consider anterior and coronal sounds. /t/ : /t^h/ : /ʈ/ : /ʈ^h/ : /d/

/t/	voiceless unaspirated dental stop
/t ^h /	voiceless aspirated dental stop
/ʈ/	voiceless unaspirated retroflex stop
/ʈ ^h /	voiceless aspirated retroflex stop
/d/	voiced dental stop
/ɖ/	voiced retroflex stop

Minimal and subminimal pairs can be found to determine the phonemic status of these sounds.

<i>tec</i>	'leaf'
<i>t^heca</i>	'intoxicated'
<i>tɛk^ho</i>	'speech'
<i>dek^hɔ</i>	'now'
<i>t^hu</i>	1SG
<i>t^hu</i>	'reach'
<i>bat^he</i>	'hind of an animal'
<i>bate</i>	'extinguish'
<i>eka-tɔke</i>	'necklace'
<i>eka-t^hoke</i>	'close it'
<i>kata</i>	'a piece'
<i>kaʈa</i>	'girl'
<i>dun</i>	'they'
<i>ɖum</i>	'earthworm'
<i>dakar</i>	'basket'
<i>ɖakar</i>	'potato'

The velar sound exists only in its voiceless form. As we discussed in §2.3 the voiced velar [g] is conspicuous by its absence in the present form of the language but the possibility of its existence in the earlier form cannot be ruled out.

/k ^h / : /k/	
/k ^h /	voiceless aspirated velar stop
/k/	voiceless unaspirated velar stop
<i>k^hu</i>	'drink'
<i>ku</i>	'burn'
<i>ɛr=tɔko</i>	'slowly'
<i>ɛr=tɔk^ho</i>	'fishing with bamboo'
<i>k^harae</i>	'crab, found only in sand'
<i>karai</i>	'black ant'

<i>kɔrɔ</i>	‘palm’
<i>kʰɔrɔ</i>	‘sand’

There are three contrastive bilabial consonants. Voiced aspirates could not be attested in the language.

/p/ : /pʰ/ : /b/

/p/ Voiceless unaspirated bilabial stop

/pʰ/ Voiceless aspirated bilabial stop. This sound alternates with the following two sounds in the intra-community speech. Refer to Table 2.9 to view the pattern of variation.

[f] Voiceless labio-dental fricative

[Φ] Voiceless bilabial fricative

Hence the word *pʰile* ‘teeth’ would have alternative forms such as: [pʰile] ~ [Φile] ~ [file].

The alternating pattern that we observed between [pʰ], [Φ] and [f] in Table 2.9 is also indicative of the age factor. The younger generation uses the fricative [f] word-initially while the older generation uses either [pʰ] or [Φ] in all positions. Similarly, variation between the voiced bilabial stop [b] and voiced bilabial fricative [β] was observed across different age groups, the latter was used by elder and the former, i.e., [b] by younger people.

/b/

[b] voiced bilabial stop

[β] voiced bilabial fricative

The following examples help us establish the phonemic status of /p/, /pʰ/ and /b/, the latter varying with its fricative counterpart.

<i>puro</i>	‘whetstone’
<i>pʰuro</i>	‘a kind of owl’
<i>buro</i> →	[buro] ~ [βuro] ‘hand movement’
<i>bol</i>	‘rope’
<i>pʰol</i>	‘love someone’

/c/ : /j/

/c/ voiceless palatal stop. It has a variant in [cʰ] which is a voiceless aspirated palatal affricate. Consider:

<i>otcar</i>	→	[otcar] ~ [otc ^h ar]	'middle of the chest'
<i>onco</i>	→	[onco] ~ [onc ^h o]	'to stitch'

Aspirated and unaspirated versions vary freely between speakers. The aspirated version was observed in the speech of Boa Sr., our only Bo speaker. Sporadically the Khora speaker, Boro Sr. also used the sound [c^h] where other speakers used [c].⁸ This has been noted in Table 2.9 above.

/j/	voiced palatal stop
<i>co</i>	'seed'
<i>jo</i>	'song'
<i>cul</i>	'near'
<i>jol</i>	'crawl'

2.3.1.3 Fricatives

/s/ : /ʃ/	
/s/	voiceless alveolar sibilant
/ʃ/	voiceless palatal sibilant
<i>sorobul</i>	'enemy'
<i>foro-kom</i>	'kill with an arrow'

Speakers, such as Boa Sr., were observed using [c^h] instead of [ʃ] word-initially as in *c^hime* 'soak' while others varied between [sime] and [ʃime]. As observed in Table 2.9 above, the sounds [s], [ʃ], [c] and [c^h] varied freely between the members of the Great Andamanese community as each of them had descended from a different linguistic background.

2.3.1.4 Liquids

/l/ : /r/	
/l/	voiced alveolar lateral. This sound has an alternant in [l ^w] which is a voiced labialised lateral.
<i>luro</i>	→ [luro] ~ [l ^w uro] ~ [luɾo] 'fire'
<i>phal</i>	→ [phal] ~ [p ^h a l ^w] 'sea wave'

The laterals in PGA need further discussion. An acoustic analysis was made of comparative laterals across the speakers and can be consulted in appendix 'B'. As stated earlier, except for one elderly speaker, Peje, no one else used the sound [l^w].

⁸ It was observed that the two speakers were intimate friends and spent most of their time together. Influence of Boa's speech on Boro's cannot be ruled out.

/r/		voiced alveolar trill	
[ɽ]		voiced retroflex trill	
qakar	→	[qakar]	'a kind of potato'
p ^h ar	→	[p ^h ar ~ p ^h arɽ]	'injury'

Boro Sr., who hailed from the Khora tribe, used the retroflex version of the trill more often than not. The trill /r/ contrasted with lateral /l/.

juro	'goddess'
julu	'clothes'
le	'crab'
re	'flower'

2.3.2 Phonotactics of Consonants

PGA is a language that allows most of the consonants to appear in all positions with varying degrees of frequency. However, aspirated sounds do not occur word-finally. Final [d] and [ɖ] are rare as we have only two words each for these sounds in our database. As can be observed, geminates do not occur word-initially nor word-finally, a phenomenon which is shared across most of the world's languages.

Table 2.11. Distribution of consonant sounds

Segments	Initial	Medial	Final
p	pɔɾɔk 'big'	ɛɾɛptɔ 'weak'	lep' 'smoke'
p ^h ~ Φ	p ^h a:r ~ Φar 'wound'	ɛ-bɔp ^h o~ɛ-bɔΦo 'stupid'	tɔp ^h 'bathe'
b	boɬ ^h o 'fall'	cɔkbi 'turtle'	k ^h eb 'left'
β ~ l ^w	-βuc ~ l ^w uc 'cold'	i:βe 'mother-in-law'	p ^h aβ ~p ^h al ^w ~p ^h al
	βuɾo ~ l ^w uɾo 'fire'		'sea wave'
β β	—	kɔββɔ 'bamboo'	—
t	tole 'potato'	oto 'morning'	kɔt 'cough'
tt	—	otto 'see'	—
t ^h	t ^h u 'reach'	er=bat ^h e 'forelegs of turtle, fish fins, flippers'	—
d	dakar 'basket'	k ^h idɛr 'coconut'	et ^h ud 'kill'
ɖ	qakar 'potato'	fudɔɬɔŋ 'mangrove tree'	ʃid 'hunt'
	tɔk ^h ɛtec 'leaf'	p ^h aɬka 'crow'	rɛɬ 'bamboo'
	—	oɬto 'smell'	—
t ^h	t ^h u 'I'	boɬ ^h o 'fall'	ɛɾɖit ^h 'pierce'
c	cɛɾp ^h o 'sneeze'	ɛɾɔcɔŋ 'horn'	βɛ:c 'arrow'
cc	—	uccire 'clean'	—
j	jurɛ 'dance'	ijurul 'sweet'	teɾj 'spit'

Table 2.11 (*cont.*)

Segments	Initial	Medial	Final
jj	—	<i>ujjete</i> ‘shy’	—
k	<i>kɔtɔɔ</i> ‘a kind of fish’	<i>pʰorɔ:ke:t</i> ‘heaven’	<i>tʰercurɔk</i> ‘my knee’
kk	—	<i>diyɔ:kka</i> ‘for this’	—
kʰ	<i>kʰole</i> ‘to laugh’	<i>erkʰuro</i> ‘elder’ ~ <i>xuro</i> ‘big’	<i>lebetɔkʰ</i> ‘to fan’
m	<i>mu</i> ‘we’ (EXCL)	<i>tʰumɛl</i> ‘bee’	<i>dʒim</i> ‘black’
mm	—	<i>immixolo</i> ‘inside the bark of a tree’	—
n	<i>nu</i> ‘people’	<i>ino</i> ‘water’	<i>kɛren</i> ‘whale’
nn	—	<i>elinna.wbe</i> ‘sleeping place’	—
ɲ	<i>ɲyɔ</i> ‘house’	<i>sɲu</i> ‘upward’	<i>katɔɲ</i> ‘star’
ŋ	<i>ɲu</i> ‘you’	<i>taŋol</i> ‘rod’	<i>tɔŋ</i> ‘tree’
r	<i>rowa</i> ‘boat’	<i>pʰuro</i> ‘owl’	<i>dakar</i> ‘a type of potato’
ɾ	<i>ɾulu</i> ‘eye’	<i>ɛɾla</i> ‘alone’	<i>bɔɾteɾ</i> ‘storm’
l	<i>lico</i> ‘basket’	<i>jili</i> ‘snail’	<i>ɛmpʰil</i> ‘die’
ll	—	<i>jilli</i> ‘menstruating girl’; ‘a kind of blue flower’	—
lʷ	<i>lʷec</i> ‘arrow’	<i>bi: lʷ u</i> ‘ship’	<i>bolʷ</i> ‘rope’
s	<i>sare</i> ‘salt’	<i>isɔɔke</i> ‘kill’	<i>dɛ:s</i> ‘hazy’
ss	—	<i>esso:ro</i> ‘beat’	—
ʃ	<i>ʃi:d</i> ‘hunt’	<i>təraɪfitu</i> ‘dusk’	—
y	<i>yɛjile</i> ‘ate up’	<i>tʰikyɔŋ</i> ‘to live’	<i>rɛɔɔy</i> ‘iron’
w	<i>wɛtɛye</i> ‘smell’	<i>rowa</i> ‘boat’	<i>ca:w</i> ‘dog’

2.3.3 Medial Consonant Clusters

Great Andamanese has a wide variety of medial CC clusters within a lexeme. Refer to Tables 2.12 and 2.13.

Table 2.12. Consonant clusters within a lexeme

CC	Lexeme	Gloss
-pl-	<i>ɛople</i>	‘light in weight’
-pt-	<i>eptaruɔŋa</i>	‘step-child’
-pb-	<i>bilupbu</i>	‘remind’
-pl-	<i>kaplo</i>	‘mangrove seed’
-tl-	<i>ecɛɾɔk-totla</i>	‘industrious’
-tp-	<i>kɔtpeɔ</i>	‘horn’
-tb-	<i>itbi</i>	‘yellow’

Table 2.12 (*cont.*)

CC	Lexeme	Gloss
-tr-	<i>notroʃup</i>	'noisy'
-tc-	<i>retcer</i>	'onset of rains'
-tk-	<i>itkie</i>	'turn itself'
-dg-	<i>jidga</i>	'a flower'
-tc-	<i>enɔl-ʃɔtcɔ</i>	'very good'
-ʈm-	<i>kɛʈmo</i>	'bowstring'
-ʈp-	<i>yoŋaʈpo</i>	'load'
-ʈm-	<i>eʃɔʈmo</i>	'white'
-ʈl-	<i>ciriʈli</i>	'turtle'
-ʈk-	<i>ebiʈki</i>	'balance'
-ɖd-	<i>biɖde</i>	'edge of the sea'
-ɖb-	<i>koɖbelo</i>	'Banded Sea Krait snake'
-cp ^h -	<i>k^haracp^hak</i>	'very far'
-cm-	<i>cɔk^hɔcmo</i>	'a green seabird'
-kr-	<i>ekrɔ</i>	'got the prey'
-kl-	<i>cɔkle</i>	'an insect'
-kb-	<i>cokbi</i>	'turtle'
-mp ^h -	<i>ikoɖump^hu</i>	'big' (animal)
-mb-	<i>emboe</i>	'marry'
-mt-	<i>julumte</i>	'early tomorrow morning'
-nm-	<i>kɔnmɔ</i>	'white tuber'
-nl-	<i>p^hinli</i>	'throbbing'
-nt-	<i>dɔntɔ</i>	'therefore'
-nk-	<i>cɛnkolo</i>	'sea shell'
	<i>ek^honko</i>	'young girl' (Bo)
-ŋʈ-	<i>ʃaŋʈɔ</i>	'lean'
-ŋk-	<i>tuykɛlo</i>	'all over'
	<i>k^hiriŋkoso</i>	'Strait Island'
-ŋʈ-	<i>boiŋʈaiŋa</i>	'name of a place'
-lp ^h -	<i>ilp^he</i>	'one who returns from hunting'; 'turn over'
-lm-	<i>kɔlme</i>	'there'
-lt-	<i>olaltoiyɔ</i>	'stagnant'
	<i>eltite</i>	'egg yolk'
-lk-	<i>er-p^holkɛ</i>	'bigamous'
-lŋ-	<i>bolŋɔ</i>	'a kind of big leech'
-ln-	<i>ilni</i>	'nerve'
-rʈ-	<i>nutlu:rʈɔy</i>	'most'
	<i>kɔrerʈɔ</i>	'a kind of game'
-rt-	<i>burto</i>	'a kind of fish'
-rʃ-	<i>mɪrʃi</i>	'uprooted'
-rb-	<i>korbo</i>	'a kind of sour fruit'
-rm-	<i>p^hormu</i>	'big'

Table 2.12 (*cont.*)

CC	Lexeme	Gloss
	<i>surme</i>	'having a good voice'
-rn-	<i>k^harne</i>	'a kind of Manta Ray'
-rŋ-	<i>k^harŋe</i>	'sweet potato'
-ɾl-	<i>ɛɾla</i>	'alone' [Khora]
-ɾc-	<i>k^hurcu</i>	'police'
-rl-	<i>cɛrle</i>	'a kind of fly'
-rk-	<i>burku</i>	'coral'
-sl-	<i>isluye</i>	'rotten'

Table 2.13. Geminates

CC	Lexeme	Gloss
-ββ-	<i>ɛββeo</i>	'a variety of bamboo'
-tt-	<i>ekka:la:ttɔy</i>	'pungent taste'; <i>ittak^he</i> 'right now'
-tt-	<i>effɔrom</i>	'salty'
-cc-	<i>era:cco:cce</i>	'on the whole'; <i>uccire</i> 'clean'
-kk-	<i>ekka:qum</i>	'thin'; <i>ikko</i> 'burnt wood'
-ll-	<i>idello</i>	'pebbles'
-jj-	<i>ujjete</i>	'shy'
-nn-	<i>elinma:wbe</i>	'sleeping place'
-mm-	<i>immixolo</i>	'inside the bark of a tree'
-ss-	<i>esso:ro</i>	'beat'

2.3.4 Initial Consonant Clusters

A few cases of two-consonant clusters in word-initial position were observed. Only voiceless stops and trills constitute part of the onset of a syllable.

<i>trera</i>	'shining'
<i>trep^ho</i>	'much'
<i>trai</i>	'fever'
<i>k^hriŋkofo</i>	'Strait Island'

2.4 SYLLABLES

It is generally believed that complex syllable structures are those that allow two or more consonants after the vowel (Maddieson 2005). Following this definition, PGA has complex syllable structures. A large

number of consonants can be combined to form inter-vocalic consonant clusters. See Table 2.12.

Syllables have the following structure:

(C) (C) V (V) (C) (C) (V) (V) (V) (C) or
 $C^2 V_1 C^2 V^3 C^1$

Thus, only one vowel (V) is obligatory to form a meaningful syllable in PGA. Furthermore, as we saw earlier, syllables can involve consonants (C) in the onset (i.e. the beginning) or in the coda (i.e. the end) of the syllable. Consonant clusters are rare in the onset position except in the combination [tr-] and [k^hr-]. There are ample examples of intervocalic consonant clusters within a morpheme. Refer to Table 2.12 to see the variety of consonant clusters which occur morpheme-internally, but with a syllable break in-between. Consider Figure 2.1 which shows the syllable break.

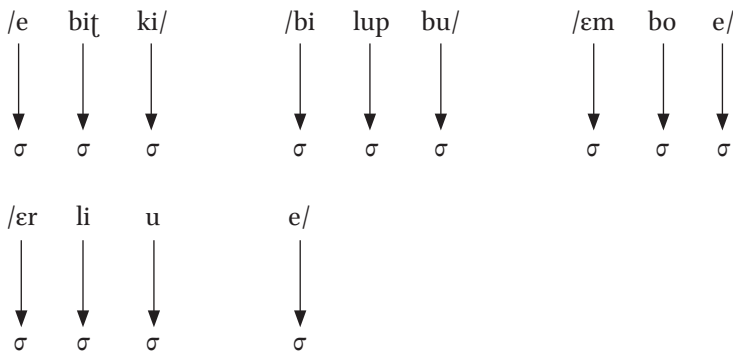


Figure 2.1. Syllable breaks

2.4.1 Possible Syllable Structures

Most simple syllable structures, i.e. one obligatory vowel, are seen in monosyllabic words denoting possessive body class markers or proclitics. The canonical form of a root is disyllabic. As a consequence, the following syllable structures are possible in simple words:

Table 2.14. Possible syllable structures

Forms	Examples	Meaning
V	<i>a-</i>	CL 1.POSS
VV	<i>ie</i>	'catch', 'give'
VVV	<i>aia</i>	'Sir'
VC	<i>ot-</i>	CL 4.POSS
CV	<i>no</i>	'stay', 'live'
CVV	<i>boi</i>	'ask'
CVVC	<i>quoc</i>	'hear'
CVC	<i>bər</i>	'breeze', 'air'
VCV	<i>uno</i>	'sit down'
VVCV	<i>eole</i>	'see'
CVCV	<i>cone</i>	'go'
CVCVC	<i>ɲemaʔ</i>	'run'
CCVVCV	<i>trep^ho</i>	'climb (tree)' [rare]
CVCCV	<i>jermo</i>	'worm'
CVVV	<i>taie</i>	'a kind of bird'

2.4.2 Constraints

All consonants can appear in the onset of a word. The presence of initial [ɽ] was observed in a few words in Khorá. All consonants, except aspirated consonants and the sibilant [ʃ], can end a word. There are only three words in our database that end in the voiceless sibilant [s]. The large inventory of consonants that appear word-initially and word-finally can be ascribed to the fact that the language is formed from four different varieties and has included several kinds of words in its lexicon (see Abbi 2012). As mentioned in §2.3.4, initial consonant clusters appear sporadically in [tr-], as in *trep^ho* 'much' and in [k^hr-] as in *k^hriŋkoʃo* 'Strait Island.' Medial consonant clusters are in abundance.

2.4.3 Length of a Word

As affixation and compounding are both productive word formation devices in PGA, a complex word can be as long as six or seven syllables:

a-ka-ker-tot-ləcoŋ 'uvula'

V-CV-CVC-CVC-CV-CVC

1 2 3 4 5 6

a ra- dɔ mo-ʔot-kɔ bo 'skin of scrotum'

V-CV-CV-CV-CVC-CV-CV

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Names of birds, fish, insects, reptiles and other jungle creatures provide most of the complex words with long syllable structures.⁹ At times, two consonant clusters may appear within the same word, as in *trɔktɔimo* ‘long-tail cricket’ or *kultɛtmo* ‘wasp’ (*Vespa affinis*).

2.5 MORPHOPHONEMICS

2.5.1 Gemination

We have seen that geminates occur intervocally and that they also conform to the syllable division given above. Geminates are created in PGA by progressive assimilation. Thus:

t > k /--- + k = it + ko	> <i>ikko</i>	‘burnt wood’
t > t /--- + t = it + tak ^h e	> <i>ittak^he</i>	‘right now’
t > t /--- + t = it + tɔrɔm	> <i>ittɔrɔm</i>	‘salty’
t > c /--- + c = ut + cire	> <i>uccire</i>	‘clean’
t > j /--- + j = ut + jete	> <i>ujjete</i>	‘shy’
t > s /--- + s = et + so:ro	> <i>esso:ro</i>	‘beat’

The gemination of sonorant sounds such as nasals and liquids occurs within a lexeme. For instance, *immixolo* ‘inside the bark of a tree’; *elinna:w-be* ‘sleeping place’; *i-della* ‘pebbles’, etc.

2.5.2 Degemination and Compensatory Lengthening

Some speakers (Lico for example) were observed to degeminate consonants with compensatory lengthening in the next syllable.

vc _i cv → vcv: =	<i>attaek^he</i> > <i>ata:ek^he</i>	‘lie’
	C V	
	[+ long] → [– long] / [+ long]	

The compensatory length can be assigned either to the preceding or to the following vowel which is rather unusual from a cross-linguistic perspective.

V + CCV → V: + CV
bi + ikko > *be:ku-ABS* + burn ‘burnt’

⁹ See Pande & Abbi (2011).

2.5.3 *Homorganicity*

Nasals acquire the features of the next consonant across the morpheme boundary. That is, nasal consonants assimilate to the place of articulation of the following obstruents. This can be stated in a rule:

$$\left[\begin{array}{c} + \text{consonant} \\ + \text{nasal} \end{array} \right] \longrightarrow \left[\begin{array}{c} \alpha \text{ anterior} \\ \beta \text{ coronal} \\ \gamma \text{ back} \end{array} \right] / \text{---} + \left[\begin{array}{c} + \text{consonant} \\ \alpha \text{ anterior} \\ \beta \text{ coronal} \\ \gamma \text{ back} \end{array} \right]$$

This can be exemplified by:

[am + k^hui] > aŋk^hui 'embrace'
 [aka-ɛm-dukolɔt] > akandukolɔt 'young girl'

2.5.4 *Insertion of a Consonant*

If two different vowels occur across lexemes or morphemes, most often than not the consonant appearing in the second lexeme or morpheme is inserted between the vowels.

[dilli + ek] > dillikek 'towards Delhi'

2.5.5 *Vowel Harmony*

If the word is constructed of two morphemes with dissimilar vowels, the vowel of the second morpheme agrees with the first one in fronting. Thus:

[duoč + ɛm] > [duosem] > duosom 'listen to me carefully'

2.5.6 *Vowel Lowering*

a) A high front vowel is lowered in front of another high front vowel across a morpheme boundary.

i → e /--- + i
 u → o /--- + u

For example,

bi + ikko > be + ikku ABS + burn 'burnt'
 bi + ijim > be + ijim ABS + eat 'eats'
 thu + ut cone > t^ho + ut cone 'I go'

2.5.7 Vowel Deletion

- (a) Two identical vowels across morpheme boundaries become one. Thus:

$V_i \rightarrow \emptyset / \text{---} + V_i$		
<i>aka + aom</i> > <i>akaom</i>	3SG + comes	'he comes'
<i>ino + ot=k^hu</i> > <i>inotk^hu</i>	water + CL 4=drink	'drinking water'

- (b) Non-identical vowels across morpheme boundaries tend to lead to a loss of the second vowel before the consonant.

$V_i \rightarrow \emptyset / V_x + \text{---} C$		
<i>be + iku</i> > <i>be:ku</i>	ABS + burn	'burnt'
<i>be + ijiom</i> > <i>bejiom</i>	ABS + eat	'eats'
<i>t^ho + ut cone</i> > <i>t^hot cone</i>		'I go'
<i>ara + em-ben</i> > <i>aramben</i>	CL 6 + REFL-rest	'to rest'
<i>k^hu + im</i> > <i>k^hum</i>	drink + NEG	'don't drink'
<i>k^heŋe + ara + uli</i> > <i>k^heŋerauli</i>	cat + CL 6 + tail	'cat's tail'

When the ABSOLUTE *-bi* combines with the object proclitic, it follows the same rules as in §2.5.7 (a) and (b). Thus:

<i>bi + it/et</i>	>	<i>bit</i>
<i>bi + ik/ek</i>	>	<i>bik</i>
<i>bi + en/en</i>	>	<i>bin</i>

Vowel lowering, vowel deletion, degemination and compensatory lengthening rules are ordered.

2.5.8 Syllable Attraction

When a pronominal proclitic, which is a reduced form of a pronoun without a vowel, is followed by a lexical item with a proclitic or a prefix beginning with a vowel, then this vowel is attracted by the pronominal proclitic (refer to §3.8.3 for details on clitic sequencing). For instance, the first singular pronominal proclitic is *t^h=* 'I' and the word for 'go' is *ot=cone* (proclitic *ot=* and the verb root *cone*).¹⁰ When the two words combine in a phrase, the verbal proclitic attaches itself to the previous clitic, in this case a pronominal clitic. The word is rendered as *t^hot* as a phonological word. This can be schematised as below:

t^h= *ot=cone* > *t^hot cone*

¹⁰ For details on proclitics refer to Chapter 3 and 6.

The syllable attraction rule allows any two proclitics, or a combination of a proclitic and a bound morpheme to generate a prosodic word. Thus the resulting construction appears to be a one-word construction where the second bound morpheme of the following word moves to its left and forms part of the first word shown by the spacing symbol #. Thus:

$t^hu \rightarrow t^h = ot = cone$	$> t^hot \# cone$	'I go'
$qu \rightarrow q i = tei$	$> qi \# tei$	'his blood'
$t^hu \rightarrow t^h = em -$	$> t^hem \#$	'I myself'
$\eta u \rightarrow \eta = ara = karap$	$> \eta ara \# karap$	'your waist'
$k^hider-bi ut = p^hoke$	$> k^hider \# bit \# p^hoke$	'break the coconut'

Refer to §10.1.14 also to see how this works for all parts of speech. The constituents of this phonological word may or may not have an independent meaning, e.g. t^hem which is derived from the first singular pronominal proclitic $t^h =$ and the reflexive prefix $em-$ means 'myself.' However, t^hot which is derived from the first singular pronominal proclitic $t^h =$ 'I' and possessive proclitic $ot =$ carries the meaning of only the first morpheme t^hu 'I' or may represent possessive 'mine' if followed by a possessed noun as in $t^hot bo$ 'my back.' The attachment of clitics to various nouns and verbs is discussed in the next chapter.

2.5.9 Metathesis

Sporadic examples of metathesis of the semi-vowel y and the locative marker $-l$ have been noticed in the speech of Jero and Khora speakers. Thus:

$cay + l > cyal$ 'where'

2.6 ACOUSTIC STUDY OF PROBLEMATIC SOUNDS

As noted above, one of the speakers, Peje,¹¹ always used a labialised lateral instead of the simple alveolar lateral [l]. An acoustic study was carried out to analyse the sound.

The labialised lateral could have been an idiosyncratic phenomenon in Peje's speech. To rule out language contact effects, other languages of the Andaman were also investigated. However, no other language spoken in

¹¹ When we first met Peje in 2001 he was in his mid-fifties.

the Andaman was noticed to contain this particular sound. Despite this, I undertook the acoustic study of laterals so as to give the benefit of the doubt for establishing an archaic trait of the language. Peje had reported to us that he had spent some time of his childhood with some Burmese tribes. We, however, could not verify this.

Please refer to Appendix B for the spectrograms and further analysis of laterals.

CHAPTER THREE

GRAMMAR OVERVIEW

3.1 THE STRUCTURE

3.1.1 *General*

As discussed in the previous chapter the language demonstrates large phonetic variation, and contains varying vocabulary items used to express the same meaning; this is likely because of its mixed nature or its status as an endangered and moribund language. This chapter is an overview of grammar highlighting the basic tenets of the grammatical structure of PGA. This is done so as to prepare the readers to comprehend what follows in the subsequent chapters.

3.1.2 *Typological Background*

PGA is a double-marking polysynthetic and agglutinative language with an SOV pattern. Examples in the text are given in four-line format and three-line format. The former format represents the word boundaries in the first line and does not give any morphemic breaks while the second line gives the morphemic breaks.

(1) *ajoe atoŋnu taracɔre eoleinciko*

α=joe	α=toŋ-nu	taracɔr-e	eole-inci-k-o
CL 1=Joe	CL 1=Tong-PL	spring-ABS	see-go-FA- DST.PST
'Joe and Tong went to see the spring.'			

PGA has a dual semantic system for body part categorisation: one that is expressed in concrete nouns and another more abstract one that is expressed in grammaticalised morphemes indicating body divisions. These are represented by body division possessive classes that classify body part terms based on the area of the body they refer to. These classes also classify other inalienables, with some semantic connection to the body part system. Furthermore, body part semantics pervade the lexical and grammatical system of the language as this dual system is extended to other form classes, viz. verbs, adjectives and adverbs. The body division class markers occur as proclitics attached to all classes of content words. Thus,

all content words in PGA can easily be divided into bound and free, the former necessarily imbued with the semantics of ‘inherency’ and ‘dependency.’ This is a unique and important feature of the language: all parts of speech occur as dependent and non-dependent pairs, the former being obligatorily marked. Refer to §3.6 below.

Most of the nouns that refer to the typically inalienable possessed items as well as those which refer to the objects or results of an action, e.g., *ik-jira* ‘it-story.tell’, i.e. ‘a story’, are marked for dependency. All body part terms, kinship terms, part-to-whole, part-to-component, as well as nouns referring to time, direction, and depth are dependent nouns. The dependent nouns are further divided into seven classes, each defined by a distinct body division inalienability marker appearing as a class marker proclitic.

There are three numbers encoded in pronominal forms. However, nouns in general are not marked for duality and plurality. Number is marked for plurality on a few common nouns designating animacy features, e.g. ‘dogs’, ‘children’, etc.

PGA is agglutinative in terms of its treatment of morpheme boundaries, but polysynthetic in its nature of word morphology. A large number of morphemes, affixes, phonological words, clitics, and incorporation can constitute a single word. The incorporation of reflexives and nouns is seen in verb complexes. These verb complexes may constitute a verb phrase. Thus, verbs are much more versatile and elaborate than nouns. PGA is a prototypical ‘double marking’ language where the head or possessed noun is obligatorily marked in inalienable possession, but it is the possessor, the dependent noun, which is marked in alienable possession. In addition, case markings are suffixed to the nouns. The verb complex includes a large amount of information in multi-morphemic strings that include object clitics, incorporated nominals in causative constructions, reflexive and reciprocal prefixes, as well as suffixes expressing tense, aspect, and mood. Overt external NPs are present in addition to the verb complex. However, these are optional and often dropped in discourse. PGA is a verb-final language. Following are few sentences from PGA to exemplify the verb complex and the pervasive body division class markers (symbolised as CL). One can see that body class markers are also attached to verbs.

- (2) *o^hobɔyamo t^huitertakom*
 o=t^h=o=bɔi-amo t^hu i(t)=tɛrtɔ-k-om
 3SG=1SG=CL 7=ask-COND 1SG OBJ=tell-FA-NPST
 ‘If he asks me, I will tell him (the whole story).’

Pronouns, unlike proper nouns, are not marked for S or A function. The appropriate argument markers are underlined in the following examples.

- (5) *kɔp^hɛc**bi** kantico**le** belekom*
 kɔt-p^hɛc-**bi** kantico-l e=bele-k-om
 clay-vessel-ABS fill-CONV CL 5=overflow-FA-NPST
 'Having filled, the vessel is overflowing with water.'
- (6) *billubi bit^hom*
 bilu-**bi** bit^h-om
 ship-ABS sink-NPST
 'The ship is sinking.'
- (7) *t^hire-**bi** bas k^huttral beno-k-o*
 child-ABS bus inside sleep-DST.PST
 'The child slept in the bus.'
- (8) *afyame bas kuttaral konabit beli**o***
 a=fyam=**e** bas kotr-al kona-bi it=beli**o**-o
 CL 1=Shyam-ERG bus inside-LOC tendu¹-ABS 3OBJ= cut-DST.PST
 'Shyam cut the tendu fruit in the bus.'
- (9) *t^hirebi **ŋolom***
 t^hire-**bi** ŋol-om
 child-ABS cry-NPST
 'The child cries.'

Plural subject nouns are not marked for their argument functions. As stated earlier, pronouns are unmarked for S and A functions (11).

- (10) *t^hirenu **ŋolom***
 t^hire-nu-**ø** ŋol-om
 child-PL cry-NPST
 'The children cry.'
- (11) *o a**t** era p^huvom*
 o-**ø** a**t**- era=p^hu-om
 3SG wood CL 2=cut-NPST
 'He is cutting the trees.'

PGA is thus an ERGATIVE-ABSOLUTIVE language with a fluid S function. The nominal agent of transitive verbs is optionally marked by *-e* (examples 12, 13, 14). At times, and quite surprisingly, the agent of transitive

¹ There is no equivalent in English for this local fruit known as 'Tendu' in the Andamanese Hindi.

verbs, i.e., the A function is marked by S marking—the marker *-bi*, which otherwise marks S, as in (18) below. The agent marking *-e* is also missing with pronominal agents and with plural nominal agents in the examples given above.

All human subjects and objects, but more specifically, names of humans, are preceded by the proclitic *a=* which represents the body division class marker 1 to indicate ‘origin.’ Consider:

- (12) *athirenu naramlifo bofobo*
 a=^hire-nu n-ara.m-lifo bofo-b-o
 CL 1=child-PL 3PL.CL 6=.REFL-sister beat-FA-DST.PST
 ‘The child did not beat his sister.’
- (13) *asalma kambik^hir konabi jiyo*
 a=salma kambikhir kona-bi iji-o
 CL 1=Salma-ø morning tendu-ABS eat-DST.PST
 ‘Salma ate tendu fruit in the morning.’
- (14) *athirenu refibi ijul nu ino julu k^huo*
 a=^hire-nu refi-bi iji-ul nu -ino-julu k^hu-o
 CL 1=child-PL rice-ABS eat-CONV 3PL water-cold drink-DST.PST
 ‘Children ate rice and drank cold water.’/‘Having eaten rice, children drank cold water.’
- (15) *aɬɔŋ emɔto ie bi*
 a=[ɬɔŋ] e=mɔto ie bi
 CL 1=TONG-ø CL 5.POSS=foot pain COP
 ‘Tong has pain in her foot.’/‘Tong’s foot hurts.’²

The absolutive *-bi* has the additional function of indicating ‘specificness.’ In the following sentences *-bi* in (17) is optional because it is not a specific tree. Once the noun is specified, the proclitic to the verb becomes optional as in (16). However, many speakers use both, viz. *-bi* attached to the noun and the verbal proclitic attached to the verb.

- (16) *t^hu ɬɔŋbi rap^ho*
 t^hu ɬɔŋ-bi (e=)rap^ho-ø
 1sg tree-abs cut-pst
 ‘I cut the tree (the specific one).’

² Possessive constructions are discussed in detail in Chapter 6.

- (17) *o tɔŋe rap^ho*
 o tɔŋ (-bi) e=rap^ho-ø
 3SG tree CL 5=cut-PST
 ‘He cut the tree.’

The following sentence gives both functions of homophonous *-bi*, viz. the O and A functions. It is not clear why the subject of the transitive is marked by *-bi* case marking. Is it an instance of case alternation?

- (18) *ɬowlu-bi t^hɛ-bi ok-o*
 ant-ABS 1SG-ABS bite-DST.PST
 ‘The ant bit me.’

3.2 AMBIVALENCE OF VERBS, ADJECTIVES AND NOUNS

The canonical semantic functions of word classes are observed in PGA. These are:

- Nouns: denote referential entities (‘things’).
- Verbs: denote eventualities (actions, processes, and states).
- Adjectives: denote properties and attributes.

These categories also operate in their pivotal places at the syntactic level. That is to say, adjectives always follow the modified, verbs occupy the sentence-final position and are marked for all possible TAM inflections, and nouns take relevant nominal inflections such as case, gender and number. Adjectives appear in bare forms as a modifier of the head. However, a large number of words can function as both nominal categories, defining objects and persons, and as verbal categories, defining states and events, each taking appropriate affixes. Adjectives can also be derived as nouns or verbs depending upon the requisite terminations. In short, a noun, an adjective, a stative or an active verb, or a time word and a temporal adverb can occupy the predicate slot. This is quite uncommon in languages.

This is not equal to categorical-indeterminacy as described by Koptjevskaja-Tamm (1993) or the case of ‘categorical dual-citizenship’ as described by Spencer (2011). Let us examine a few constructions to show the ambivalence of the word class in PGA.

3.2.1 Noun Verb Ambivalence

- ot/ut=pyo* Noun: ‘house’
 Verb: ‘to live’

- (19) *eremla t^{hi} (u)t=nyo-ø*
 alone earth CL 4=live-PST
 'He lived alone.'

- (20) *a=cao-no t^{hi}-bi (u)t=nyo-am*
 CL 1=dog-PL place (live)-ABS CL 4=home-NPST
 'Dogs live with us.'
 (Dogs are domestic animals and are treated as members of the family, hence the *a=* proclitic is used.)

- (21) *tɔilccɔŋ tot=nyo t^{hi}imik^{hu} bi*
 deer CL 4.POSS=house forest COP
 'The forest is the deer's house.'

er/er=nol Noun: 'pen, writing instrument'
 Verb: 'to write'

- (22) *t^{hu} er=ŋole-ta er=ŋole-me*
 1SG CL 2=write-INSTR CL 2= write-HAB
 'I write with a pen.'

i/e=bɔr Noun: 'wind, breeze'
 Verb: 'to flow'

- (23) *e=bɔr-ɔm*
 CL 5=wind-NPST
 'Wind is blowing.'

- (24) *bɔr-be tambik^{hir} e=bɔr-ɔm*
 wind-ABS tomorrow CL 5=wind-NPST
 'The wind will flow tomorrow = it will be windy tomorrow.'

e=cɛr Noun: 'rain'
 Verb: 'to rain'

- (25) *e=cɛr trɔp^{he}*
 CL 5=rain much
 'Too much rain.'

- (26) *e=cɛr-om*
 CL 5=rain-NPST
 'It is raining/will/may rain.'

bino Noun: 'sleep, dream'
 Verb: 'to sleep'

- (27) *t^hu bino-bi kalem-u-o*
 1SG sleep-ABS early-PST
 'I had some sleep very early.'

- (28) *thire-nu er=beno be*
 child-PL CL 2=sleep COP
 'Children are sleeping.'

e=boe Noun: 'spouse'
 Verb: 'to marry'

- (29) *t^h=em boe-b-om*
 1SG-REFL marry-FA-NPST
 'I am getting married.'

- (30) *t^he=boe nɔl p^ho*
 1SG=husband nice NEG
 'My husband is not nice.'

er=coic Noun: 'embrace'
 Verb: 'to embrace each other'

- (31) *a=caci ek=ter= coic-b-om*
 CL 1= aunt OBJ=CL 2= embrace-FA-NPST
 'The aunt embraces him/her.'

- (32) *ɲ=er coic t^ha tabijom*
ɲ=er coic t^ha= ta-bij-om
 2SG=CL 1 embrace 1SG.CL 1 TR-remember-NPST
 'I remember your embrace (the way you used to hold me in your arms).'

qit^h Noun: 'hole'
 Verb: 'to make a hole'

- (33) *rowa-bi ram-qit^h-o*
 boat-ABS in the centre-hole-DST.PST
 'A hole developed in the bottom of the boat.'

- (34) *julu ter=qit^h-(bi) k^huro be*
 dress CL 2-hole-ABS big COP
 'There is a big hole in my dress.'

e=jira Noun: 'speech, saying'
 Verb: 'to speak, to tell'

- (35) *k^holek t^he-jira-k-om*
 laughing 1SG.CL 5=say-FA-NPST
 'He speaks to me laughingly.'

- (36) *tʰi* *ik-jira-(i)t=* *nɔl-e*
 1SG OBJ=story-OBJ= good-be
 'Tell me a good story.'

tɔl Noun: 'flower'
 Verb: 'to blossom'

- (37) *ɖu* *ε=tɔl-ot= co*
 3SG-DEM CL 5=flower-CL 4=seed
 'That is the pollen of the flower.'

- (38) *kona-bi* *thimukhi-e* *tɔl-om*
 tendu fruit-ABS jungle-LOC flower-NPST
 'Tendu fruits have blossomed in the forest.'

bolo Verb: 'excrete'
 Noun: 'excreta'

- (39a) *bolo* *be*
 defecate IMP.
 'go defecate'

- (39b) *ɲut* *bolo*
 2SG.CL 4.POSS excreta
 'your stool.'

The dichotomy between noun and verb does not appear to be rigid because the same lexeme can be used as a verb or as a noun depending upon the process involved in forming a lexical unit. Verbalicity is assigned to prototypical noun categories by attaching tense markings, and conversely, nominality can be assigned to verbs by attaching case suffixes and by other means such as showing it as an object of possession. The same is true for adjectives. That is, any content word in PGA is capable of moving from its pivotal slot and can occupy the predicate position with appropriate tense, mood and aspect inflections. Thus each of the following word classes can be used as a predicate.

- (a) *pʰoŋ* 'hole' N
 (b) *kʰuro* 'big' ADJ
 (c) *ut=po* 'live' V
 (d) *loto* 'much' ADV

Let us consider adjectives now.

3.2.2 *Adjectives as Verbs*

Adjectives can take the predicate position with or without any TAM markings, or occur with copula.

cɔfe Adjective: 'much', 'a lot'
 Verb: 'exist a lot'

- (40) *mino* *cɔfe* *e=tɛf-e*
 potatoes much CL 5=give-IMP
 'Give lots of potatoes.'

- (41) *nɛ=cɔfɛ=m* *fo* *non-to-foc*
 2SG.CL 5=much=REFL NEG only two
 'Yours are not many but only two.' (In the context of children)

- (42) *tʰut=* *tʰire* *cɔfe* *be*
 1SG.CL 4.POSS= children many COP
 'I have many children.'

lɔto Adjective: 'too much, a lot'

- (43) *cai* *ono* *lɔto-k-o*
 Q oil much-FA-DST.PST
 'Why have you put [in] so much oil (while cooking)?'

3.2.3 *Adjectives as Adverbs*

Adjectives can be used in the adverbial category by placing them next to verbs, quite common in many languages.

nɔl Adjective: 'good'
 Adverb: 'well, nicely'

- (44) *buamo* *ra-fulu* *nɔl*
 musical instrument CL 6=play good
 'He plays the Buamo well.'

As seen above in (43) adjectives can take TAM inflections.

- (45) *tʰi* *tuy-ul* *thaono* *nɔl-o*
 earth REFL-on sit like/good-DST.PST
 'I liked to sit on the ground'

Consider the following constructions indicating that the adjective can be used predicatively. Verbal class markers have the tendency of being long distanced from their host (discussed later in §3.8.1). Hence verbal CLASS 5 is distanced from the verb and appears before the object noun *p^hoŋ*. For details refer to §3.8. In (47) a long distanced class marker is shown by an arrow. It is attached to adjective which is used as a verb here. Obligatorily marked adjectives are considered in detail in §8.2.

- (46) *t^hu ep^hoŋom*
 ^{t^hu} ^{e=p^hoŋ}-om
 1SG CL 5=dig-NPST
 'I am digging.'

- (47) *t^hu ep^hoŋe k^hurokɔm*
- | | |
|---|--|
| ↓ | ↓ |
| ^{t^hu} ^{e=p^hoŋ} -e
1SG CL 5=hole-ABS
'I am digging a big hole.' | ^{k^huro} -k-ɔm
big-FA-NPST |

3.2.4 Other Unusual Features

There is another significant factor which cannot be overlooked: there are grammatical categories which are pervasive in nature and are thus obligatorily assigned to nouns, adjectives and verbs. The BODY DIVISION CLASS MARKER clitics that we will discuss later in the chapter operate as proclitics that attach to nouns, modifiers, and verbs. Thus, the proclitic *ot=* is attached to the verb 'go' in [*ot=cone*]_v, and is also found in 'hair' [*ot=bec*]_N, and 'wide' [*ot=belo*]_{ADJ}. Although transparent in some respects, these have been highly grammaticalised in the language. For further details see §3.3.

Furthermore, temporal deictic markers are also attached with pronominal proclitics to their left which suggests an anthromorphic explanation of deictic relations with the self. Thus, the word *bik^hir* 'morning' is never used in its bare form, but is necessarily preceded by a pronominal as in *t^h.am-bik^hir* '1SG.REFL-morning', or *ak.am-bik^hir* '3SG.REFL-morning', or *ŋ.am-bik^hir* '2sg.REFL-morning', as these phases of the day are referenced to the speaker or hearer. Hence, the following sentence is spoken in the context of the addressee's reference.

- (48) *t^hu ŋ.am-bik^hir ŋ=ot=no inci-k-om*
 1SG 2SG.REFL-morning 2SG=CL 4.POSS=house reach-FA-NPST
 'I will reach your home in the morning.'

Words for the phases of the moon and the sun can occupy the predicate position by adding TAM categories. The word for ‘sunset’ is *qiu-birate* which takes CLASS 4 as well as verbal categories such as tense marking.

- (49) *tʰ=ut=qiu-birate-k-ɔm*
 1SG=CL 4=sun-set-FA-NPST
 ‘It will take me the whole day (to finish the job).’

Hence, the absolute separation between the nominal and verbal domain has weakened in the language.³ Practically any root word in the language has the potential to be predicated.

In the beginning of the chapter in §3.1.2, we said that there was a dual semantic system in the language. This system cannot be understood without the discussion on the concept of inalienability and inherency as perceived by the Great Andamanese people. Let us begin with ‘inalienability’ and ‘grammaticalisation.’

3.3 INALIENABILITY (INA), BODY DIVISION CLASSES AND GRAMMATICALISATION

3.3.1 Introduction

The concept of inalienability (henceforth INA) is very old in grammar (Hyman et al. 1970; Allan 1975–1976; Voeltz 1976; Hawkins 1981; Hinnebusch & Kirsner 1981; Diem 1986; Chappell & McGregor 1996, to name a few) and has been much debated by linguists, anthropologists, philosophers and ethnographers for many years. It is still a major field for research and debate. One of the reasons for such a wide and sustained interest in the topic has been that there are some yet unresolved issues regarding the definition and identification of INA elements that become encoded in language. Then, there is also the problem of finding the appropriate placements for INA elements in grammar.

There is a fairly general agreement among linguists that there are five areas of inalienability:

³ Muysken (2008) observes similar phenomena for other languages.

- (i) Body parts
- (ii) Kinship relations
- (iii) Spatial relation terms
- (iv) Objects closely associated to a person for his livelihood, e.g. boat, home, etc.
- (v) Part-whole relationships such as 'branch of a tree'

3.3.2 *Anthropocentrism*

PGA exhibits a hierarchy within most of the INA domains such as 'body divisions.' There are seven distinct divisions/areas that are recognised within the human body and each one is assigned a hierarchically designated place on a scale. The specific area that a particular body part belongs to is designated by a specific inalienability [INA] or inherency feature represented by body division classes. These are grammaticalised morphemes that attach to several nouns pertaining to body part or body division terms. These serve the grammatical function of a prototypical possessive association between two nouns that stand in a relationship of possessor and the possessed, or R and D. Since these class markers are obligatorily attached to the head noun, D, the nouns under category D are dependent nouns. The class markers by their distinct nature behave like proclitics (see below). As mentioned earlier, PGA maintains seven body divisions. It then further extends the notion of these seven divisions to other terms, i.e. kin terms, spatial relational terms, closely related object terms, and furthermore, attributes (human propensity), objects, action and state (denoted by verbs) with reference to the body. This implies that the Great Andamanese people visualise their world from a point of view centered in the 'self' or 'ego.' The perspective that human beings are the centre governs the structure of the modules of grammar. However, each division within the realm of inalienability is designated on a hierarchical scale. We will see in Chapter 6 that inalienable areas other than those represented by nominals such as (i)–(v) mentioned above, are also preceded by these body division class markers.

As mentioned above, verbs, adjectives and adverbs are capable of being attached to the same seven division class markers. In other words, these CLASS MARKERS play a significant role in word formation processes as grammaticalised units and can attach to a large number of vocabulary items signifying diverse meanings. As there is a distinct marker used for all typical 'alienable' objects *-ico* or *-ifo*, the language formally maintains the distinction between the two kinds of possession, i.e., alienable and

inalienable. We shall consider these in detail in Chapter 6. Let us briefly discuss what leads to the appearance of these class markers and why they are obligatorily attached to the following form classes. We shall begin with the concept of inalienability and inherency, the two governing forces that dictate the occurrence of body division class markers.

3.3.3 *The Semantics of Inalienability*

An obvious question is how one can recognise inalienability. Does physical separation alone license the notion of alienability? Does the concept of inalienability belong to more areas than those covered by the five given in §3.3.1? That is to say, all things being equal, can one justifiably include, in the inalienability rubric, a list consisting of physical ailments, internal and external feelings, emotions and their after effects? Can the notion of inalienability be redefined so that it takes cognisance of the unique system present in PGA so that it allows a proper description of the same? Considering the various views held by linguists in analysing languages of diverse natures, one is motivated to extend the definition of inalienability or INA to include the following parameters and relations:

- a) Inseparability of R and D
- b) Inherent relationship between R and D
- c) Permanency of the relation between R and D
- d) Intimacy of the relations between R and D (language- and culture-specific)
- e) Conceptual dependency
- f) Inextricably linked entities

As Langacker (1991, 1995) observed, one can say that inherently relational nouns are characterised by a high degree of conceptual dependency. They are conceptually dependent in the sense that they must be understood in relation to something given (Velazquez-Castillo 1996: 34). It is difficult to define and identify what is inherently related and what is not; just as it is challenging to establish a correlation between inherent relations and conceptual dependency. The biggest challenge that PGA poses is this: how should one distinguish one kind of conceptual dependency from the other? How is a body part term such as 'head' conceptually more dependent or less dependent than terms like 'stomach' or 'tongue'? Or, how can one correlate this dependency with the kinship terminology so as to establish a one-to-one relationship between two inalienable nouns, the body part and the kinship term such as 'head' and 'child' respectively?

As one proceeds it will become clear that PGA speakers conceptualise these six kinds of relationships (listed in (a)–(f) above) between any two nominal categories in the relationship of R and D, or between the adjunct and the verb, as well as between a particular attribute and the host of the attribute. They then symbolise them in the form of distinct class markers that are obligatorily attached to the D.

This implies that the bonding between R and D does not restrict to possessions but stretches itself to other relationships symbolised by other grammatical categories, viz. verbs and modifiers. The kind of relationship that holds between the two, i.e. class marker and its dependent morpheme is determined by culture-specific cognitive elements.

Since body division class markers occur with nouns, modifiers, action and state verbs, and express the relationship between an action and its object, or between an action and its result, or between an action and its manner, or an object and its state, this relationship between the two grammatical categories symbolised by class markers cannot be termed as a possessor and the possessed in a prototypical fashion. It represents the concept of ‘inherency’ that is perceived by the speakers of the language. The dependency feature of the verbal root, modifier or noun on the preceding body division class marker may be understood as the ‘inherency factor.’ In other words, the relationship between two nominal categories or between an action and its mode of operation or resultant state or between the object and its attribute, is seen as inherent and inextricable. This factor is more obvious in the case of nouns designating separated body parts (example 51) and part-to-whole relationships (refer to Chapter 6 for details). The notion of inherency further represents a conceptual dependency between the object and its possessor. The Great Andamanese conceptualise their world through these interdependencies and hence the grammar of the language encodes this important phenomenon in every class form expressing referential, attributive and predicative meaning.

It is to be noted that a varying degree of inalienability, primarily based on frequency of occurrence, is present in the conceptual world of the Great Andamanese people. That is to say, not all INA occur with the same degree of frequency: some are more frequent than others. Refer to Table 6.9 given in Chapter 6.

3.3.4 *Linguistic Manifestations of ‘Inalienability’*

It was stated above that the Great Andamanese people perceive their world through the divisions of their body. Each division is within the

Table 3.1. Seven basic zones in the partonomy of the body

Classes	Partonomy of the human body	BODY CLASS MARKERS
1	mouth and its semantic extensions	<i>a=</i>
2	major external body parts	<i>ɛr=</i>
3	extreme ends of the body, e.g. toes and fingernails	<i>oŋ=</i>
4	bodily products and part-whole relationships	<i>ut=</i>
5	organs inside the body	<i>e=</i>
6	parts designating round shape/sexual organs	<i>ara=</i>
7	parts for legs and related terms	<i>o= ~ ɔ=</i>

realm of inalienability but is on a scale. The same division is carried over in their perception of human relations and other objects which are conceptually dependent. The binary distinction of alienable versus inalienable does not exist in a strict sense. The prototypical alienable nouns which exhibit external possession are few, while all others fall within the realm of inalienability. The Great Andamanese perceive the following divisions of the body and symbolise each by a monosyllabic or disyllabic morpheme which is attached to the appropriate term for the body part, the head noun, D. The concept of inalienability is cardinally represented in possessive constructions depicting various body parts. Table 3.1 summarises these markers and the semantic domains they cover. Readers are advised to refer to Chapter 6 for a detailed discussion on possession.

A word of caution must be given at this point: these divisions are not very straightforward as there are many overlaps and unclear elements that we will take in detail in Chapter 6 where the complete list of body division terms is given. A list of kinship terms is also given in the same chapter. An exemplary sentence will elucidate the discussion.

- (50) *tʰ=ot=bo*
 1SG=CL 4.POSS=back
 'My back.'

The fundamental division of animacy plays an important role in deciding the phonetic shape of the base form of the class marker. Thus a cut up body part, say of an animal, belongs to the same class, but is preceded by a dental *t-*. Consider:

- (51) *ra tot= bo*
 pig CL 4.POSS=back
 'Pig's back.' (For consumption)

These are discussed in detail in Chapter 6.

3.3.5 *Body Class Markers and Other Nouns*

Various body division class markers can attach themselves to the same nominal reference modifying it and further indicating various locations of the object noun on the body. Thus:

- (a) *e=tei* (CLASS 5=blood) 'blood inside the body'
- (b) *ot=tei* (CLASS 4=blood) 'blood outside the body' [when bleeding]
- (c) *oŋ=tei* (CLASS 3=blood) 'blood on finger or from finger'
- (d) *er=tei* (CLASS 2=blood) 'blood from the head'

For details on noun marking see Chapter 5.

The class markers occur with terms for spatial distances and directions, e.g., *firo* 'sea' and *firo ter=lik^hui/lik^hu⁴* 'sea CLASS 2=lap', or 'deep sea'; *firo tara=cɛrɛl* 'sea CLASS 6=green/blue' or 'open sea.' Consider the range of spatial characteristics of 'sea' given in Table 8.6 in Chapter 8.

The notions of 'inherency' or 'conceptual dependency' become clear when one considers other constructions that involve spatial relations or the size and shape of an object. As mentioned earlier, in PGA, the use of class markers is not restricted to nominal categories, but also pervades other levels of linguistic organisation, viz., adverbs, adjectives and verbs. It is imperative to look into the morpho-syntactic manifestations of the distinction and their correlations with lexico-semantic categories that are considered to be prototypically inalienable.

We shall discuss nouns pertaining to spatial, depth and directional words in Chapter 8 on deixis.

3.4 THE SEMANTIC ROLE OF BODY DIVISION CLASSES

The body division class markers help us to classify nouns into eight divisions: seven inherently related or representing relational nouns, and one non-inherently related or representing independent nouns. The objects that can be transferred, or which are expected to be transferred, such as goods in the market, household goods not of an intimate nature, objects

⁴ The class marker is preceded by a dental sound *t-* in this and the following example because of the inanimate nature of the modified nominal.

belonging flora and fauna (see Pande & Abbi 2011) and other objects of the natural environment do not obligatorily take class markers. These may be considered as independent nouns. These are discussed in detail in Chapter 6 on possession.

As seen in (51), the use of *t-* prefixed to the body division class marker makes it clear that inalienability is not perceived as a physical non-separation of an object from its host but as an inherent part of the host. The conceptual dependency between the two is absolute and is thus recognised as being intimately bonded to each other. The language has developed formal devices in the form of proclitics (see below) that reflect the dependencies, both conceptual and inherent, between the related objects and events. Furthermore, the variety of formal categories present in the inalienable category implies varying degrees of inalienability present in the conceptual world of the Great Andamanese. Between the varying degrees of inalienability lie various kinds of inherent relations. The inherent relation is signified by the use of proclitics not only with nouns but also with other content words from different grammatical categories. This phenomenon can be captured better by Figure 3.1 given below indicating varying degrees of grammaticalisation of content words.

3.5 INALIENABILITY AND ITS REPRESENTATION IN VERBS

The analogy of semantics carried by class markers is further extended to verbs. A large number of verbs are individuated by class marker proclitics, in which the body part semantics shift into event type semantic categories of various kinds. For instance the word for 'leave' is *ut=cone* and not simply *cone*. The class marker proclitics combine with verbal roots of any valence. Similar phenomena have been observed in Papantla Totonac (Levy 1992: 533), a language of northern Veracruz, Mexico and in Matsigenka, a Panoan language spoken in Amazonian Peru and Brazil (Fleck 2006), with the difference that the prefixation in Panoan is of the body part term itself and not of the grammaticalised morphemes pertaining to the division of the body. Nor are the semantics in that language as intricate as in PGA. Some languages of the world incorporate body part terms into verbs, as in the languages of the Americas and Australia (Evans 1996: 66), however, the structures of PGA are different from the phenomenon of incorporation mentioned by Evans. In PGA the class markers classify the verbs in the same way as they are used for classifying nouns as described above. In

addition, they can be seen as modifiers of the action because they encode the manner of action.

Some transitive and intransitive verbs are attached to class markers which account for a world of action and state that can be considered on a par with the distinctions made on the scale of inalienability with regard to the body part terms. Thus:

- (a) *ut=*file
CLASS 4=aim CLASS 5=aim
- (b) *e=*file
‘aim from above’ ‘aim to pierce’

Body part semantics also pervades intransitive verbs designating various psychological predicates, experiences, and states. Hence, verbs with the proclitic *ot=* ~ *ut=* would refer to an action of motion away from the speaker, such as ‘go’ or ‘exit’; thus *t^h=ut=cone-bom* (1SG=CLASS 4=go-NPST) ‘I am going’, or, where something (not necessarily tangible) is being generated as in experiential verbs ‘feeling sad/happy/hungry/thirsty/’, etc., as in *thire ut=theŋe-bom* (child CLASS 4=hunger-NPST) ‘the child is hungry.’ These objects of experience, namely ‘hunger’, ‘thirst’, etc., are an inherent part of the experience (hence they are inalienable) and emerge involuntarily in a person. They are seen as products of the body or ‘self.’ Similarly, verbs like ‘shake’ and ‘kiss’ have class marker 2 *er=* while verbs like ‘pound’ or ‘beat to a pulp’ uses *e=*, the class marker 5 which allows us to extend the analogy given in the semantics of the partonomy of the body. These are considered in detail in Chapter 9.

Semantically, the notion of dependency can be seen in two different ways: (1) when class markers appear with verbs which are prototypically transitive in nature, they signify the mode of operation and the effect of an action, something which cannot be alienated from the action itself; (2) when class markers appear with prototypical intransitive verbs of motion, they signify ambience (Chafe 1970), the resultant experience, or the patient noun which cannot be alienated from the verb. For example, ‘dance’ cannot be segregated from the ‘action of dancing’, the result of ‘roll down’ cannot be separated from the ‘action of rolling down’, the experience of ‘hunger’ cannot be separated from the state of ‘being hungry.’ Although it is very difficult to distinguish one kind of meaning from the other while analysing each of the seven divisions represented in the verbs, partly because of the class markers having grammaticalised in varying degrees over a period of time of language development, one can arrive at a broad classification.

3.6 INALIENABILITY AND ITS REPRESENTATION IN MODIFIERS

The case for adjectives is similar to the case for the verbs. A kind of semantic transparency, drawn on the basis of the original classificatory meaning assigned to the body part terms by the class marker, can be seen between these and the host adjectives to a large extent. This, at times, leads to the possibility of determining the choice of adjective with a particular class marker. For instance, it was observed that the class marker *i- ~ e-* is attached to those terms for body parts which are inside the body, e.g., 'blood', 'intestines', etc., and that the same class marker is attached to adjectives defining internal human traits such as *e=liu-fɔŋɔ* 'brave', *e=cay* 'bad', *e=dirim* 'black' or 'dark', and *ε=bop^ho* 'stupid.' It may also signify internal quality of an inanimate object such as in *e=kok^hela* 'blunt'; *i=boe* 'boiled'; *e=mɔfello* 'thick' and *i=p^huŋ* 'fully ripe.'

One can explain that inherently relational elements are conceptually dependent on each other and thus also define attributes. The inherent attribute may include inherent personal attributes such as qualities, nature, weight, height, size, shape, state of health, temperature, blood pressure, energy, bodily functions (for example, movement, reaction, urination), consciousness, courage, fear, name, among others. Refer to Chapter 8 on modification and deixis and Figure 3.2 at the end of this section. Body parts and attributes of an object are both considered to be inalienable possession. Each class marker proclitic from the set of seven decides the nature of the modifier. Please refer to Chapters 6 and 8 for the full spectrum of the phenomenon.

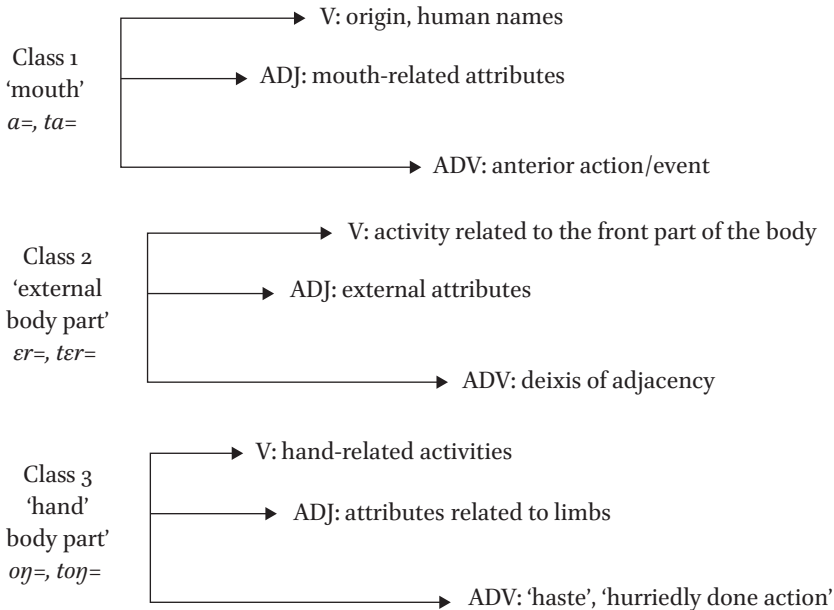
The following sentences indicate attribution or inherent quality of the argument, but are marked by different body division class markers signifying different kinds of attributes.

- (52) *a=kɔbo* *εr=tɔlbɔŋ* (*be*)
 CL 1=Kobo CL 2=tall (COP)
 'Kobo is tall.'
- (53) *tele* *i=p^heca* *k^hamo bi*
 elephant CL 5=old condition COP
 'The elephant is old.'
- (54) *a=loka* *εr=biŋoi be* *ara=kata*
 CL 1=Loka CL 2=fat COP CL 6=dwarf/short
 'Loka is fat (and/but) short.'

Modifiers of verbs, viz. adverbs, can be preceded by these class markers designating various deictic meanings as well as designating the manner of an action. In this function, these class markers are highly grammaticalised. For example, the ‘anteriority of an action’ is *a=kaulu*, ‘backwards’ is *ot=lo*, ‘behind something’ is *ara=balo*, and the manner adverb ‘slowly’ is *a=lea*. Refer to Chapter 8 for further details.

3.7 PROCESS OF GRAMMATICALISATION

Since body division class markers are attached to all form classes, each with a specific meaning, they appear to be grammaticalised to a large extent. It is not easy to establish a one-to-one correspondence between these class markers and the class markers used for body division/body part terms. However, native speakers of the language have no problem in assigning an appropriate class marker in the case of new adjectives, new verbs and new nouns. Although it is very difficult to distinguish one specific kind of meaning from another while analysing each of the seven divisions represented in verbs, adjectives, adverbs and nouns, one can represent the process of grammaticalisation for each category as follows. The length of each arrow signifies the degree of grammaticalisation. The longer the arrow, the higher the grammaticalisation. Refer to Figure 3.1.



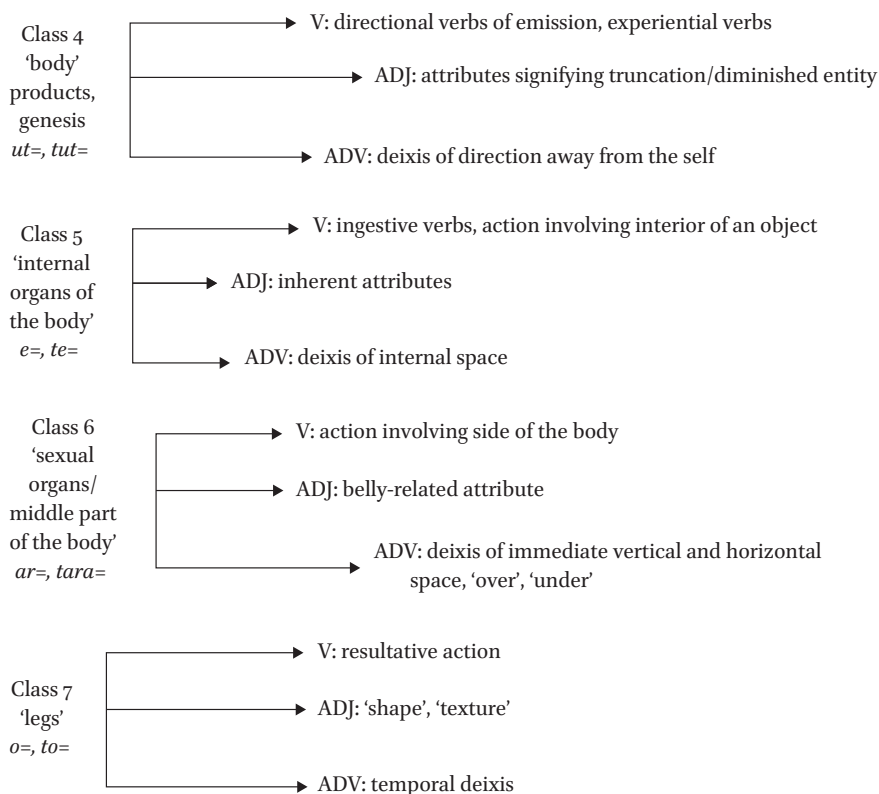


Figure 3.1. Degree of grammaticalisation across grammatical categories

It should be clear from Figure 3.1 that the degree of grammaticalisation varies from one form of a class marker to another and from one part of speech to another. The inalienability marker symbolised by class marker 7 has attained an equal degree of grammaticalisation as for verbs, adjectives and adverbs. In general, class markers used for adverbs are more grammaticalised than those used for nouns and adjectives. This is because the meaning of each of them is not very distant from the original meaning which specifies body division or a body part term.

The process of attaching the class markers to head nouns appears to be an iconic way of representing the 'inherency' factor. It cannot be denied that the perception of what is inherent, non-transferable, and thus inalienable is governed by the specifics of the Andamanese culture and society. A prototypical inalienable noun, verb or modifier in PGA is one in which R and D are conceptually close, which are not distanced even after

physical separation and which cannot be transferred from one person to another. The relationship of the ‘self’ or ‘person’ to the parts of the body is characterised by conceptualising them inherently but distinctly. This very relationship is then analogically transferred to other nouns, events and modifiers. A question could be raised here as to whether terms such as ‘possessor’ and ‘possessed’ that are categorically used for nominal classification can be stretched to include the dependency relation exhibited by verbs and modifiers.

3.8 THE STATUS OF INALIENABILITY MARKERS IN THE GRAMMAR: PROCLITICS

We have been using the terms ‘class markers’ and ‘markers’ throughout the above discussion, without giving a particular name to this form or structure from the available range of grammatical categories, because we first wanted to discuss the various ways in which these markers or class marker forms appear in the language and the varied functions they perform. It was observed that the class markers not only define and classify nouns but also modify other word classes that they are associated with. As observed above, they pervade adjectives and verbs defining and distinguishing the semantic types of the verbs and adjectives concerned. These are grammaticalised forms of the inalienability markers and operate more like clitics than prefixes. In the absence of any written record one can speculate that these must be diachronically derived from full lexical items. Over time, each has developed its own semantics which governs the larger meaning of the dependent form class, D. This has become evident as each part of speech form has the potential to take different class markers designating distinct meanings. Conversely, the same class marker can be attached to various forms belonging to the same part of speech designating similar meanings. Morpho-syntactically, they seem to be closer to the category of ‘clitics.’ We shall now discuss in detail why these class marker forms operate as proclitics in the language and how they are different from simple affixes.

3.8.1 *Arguments for Treating Inalienability Markers as Clitics*

There are strong arguments to justify the labelling of body class markers as clitics: (i) they are not as close to their host as affixes, since class markers that attach to verbs can be distanced from the verbs by several other functional categories (sentences 56a, 57, 59 and 61). (ii) They can

be characterised as an underlying determiner of the semantics of the grammatical category that they are attached to. Attributive adjectives of human traits or a verb of transitive or intransitive nature (examples given earlier in §3.6 and 3.5 respectively) only have their complete meaning when class markers are attached to them. This concordance suggests that grammatical categories such as nouns or verbs are typically marked by different kinds of class markers, which designate in their role of modifiers the perceptual analogy that a native speaker makes between a specific class marker and the nature of the action or the nature of the modifier of a noun. For instance, every class marker that is attached to a verb decides the nature of the action and the object associated with it. Some examples are cited below to illustrate this point. The various shades of meaning to the verb 'cut' are assigned by the occurrences of the distinct class markers attaching to the left of the verb root.

(B) *Verbs of 'cut'*

<i>ara=p^{ho}</i>	[CLASS 6] 'cut it down', 'fell' (tree)
<i>er=p^{ho}</i>	[CLASS 2] 'hit with a stick' (from the front)
<i>ut=p^{ho}</i>	[CLASS 4] 'cut/hit from above' (coconut)

These examples illustrate that the same verb root may take a variety of class markers depending upon the nature of the action and its effects on the object concerned. The inherent semantics of each of the class markers determines the specific meaning of the host.

Seen from a structural point of view, the fact that there is no obligatory rule that they immediately attach to a verb in all constructions and the fact that they can be moved to a position before a verb phrase as shown in (55a, 56, 58, 59, and 60) below, makes them good candidates for proclitics. This argument has been widely accepted as the indicator of clitics (Aikhenvald 2002; Heggie & Ordóñez 2005). They are moveable and are attached to the subject as in the following case, distancing themselves from the verbs they are classifying. This allows incorporation of the nominal object. Affixes certainly do not behave in this manner. In the following examples the (a) form shows a distanced verbal clitic (the class marker) and the (b) form represents the immediate attachment of the clitic to its host.

<div style="text-align: center;"> </div>		
(55a) <i>t^h=ut=</i>	<i>tɔŋ-e</i>	<i>p^{ho}ke</i>
1SG=CL 4=	tree-ABS	cut
'I cut the tree.'		

- (55b) *t^hu tɔŋ-e ut=p^hoke*
 1SG tree-ABS CL 4=cut
 'I cut the tree.'

- (56a) *ŋo i=cop^he cɔŋ-o*
 2SG CL 5=enough/how much get-DST.PST
 'How much did you get?' or 'Did you get enough?'

- (56b) *ŋo cop^he i=cɔŋ-o*
 2SG enough/how much CLASS 5=get-DST.PST
 'How much did you get (or) did you get enough?'

The semantic difference between (a) and (b) is that of focus, viz. the focus is on the verb when the proclitic is adjacent to it.

It was discussed in §3.5 that these class markers may also attach to intransitive verbs. These can also be distanced from their heads, i.e. the verbs, as the subject noun attracts the class marker or object clitic towards itself as in sentence (57). Intransitive verbs that are experiential in nature or those of motion such as, 'exit' or 'leave' also allow the markers to be attached to the subject noun (58, 59).

- (57) *rea a=jo et= nɛ rence-o*
 Reya CL 1= Joe OBJ= 3PL fight- DST.PST
 'Reya and Joe fought with each other.'

- (58) *t^h=ot= t^het^he-b-ɔm*
 1SG=CL 4= hunger-FA-NPST
 'I am hungry.'

- (59) *buli-ot= diglipur-ak cone-b-ɔ*
 Buli-CL 4= Diglipur-DIR go away-FA-DST.PST
 'Buli went away to Diglipur.'

(iii) The third argument for naming these class markers as clitics and not affixes comes from a prosodic phenomenon of the language. Pronominal clitics combined with the class markers are rendered as one or two syllables—simple phonological words in fast speech. Hence, (a) and (c) are common, but (b) and (d) are not (Note: a word boundary is shown by the symbol #):

- (a) *tʰut # toa-tut=kaʃa #* 'My elder sister.'
- (b) *tʰu # ut=toa-tut=kaʃa #*
- (c) *tʰot # coneʔom #* 'I go.' or 'I leave.'
- (d) *tʰu # ot=coneʔom #*

However, two prefixes combined together do not form a word. The assignment of the status of the word is decided by the prosodic phenomenon of pause and stress. For further details see §2.5.7 and §2.5.8.

3.8.2 *Nature of Proclitics*

It was observed that the dual semantic system in PGA offers us grammaticalised morphemes functioning as class markers which are necessarily attached to words drawn from all form classes. We shall now discuss the nature of these obligatorily attached grammaticalised morphemes, i.e., 'proclitics.' PGA has two kinds of proclitics:

- (a) Pronominal clitics (for details refer to §7.3) which are phonetically reduced forms of pronouns. These are 'simple clitics' (Anderson 2005).
- (b) The 'special clitics', the body division class marker proclitics which specify CLASSES of various form classes and are attached to the left of the hosts.

Although all class markers have some distinctive features, they share most of the properties of being clitics. Since they attach to various form classes they may be termed as: (i) Nominal proclitics, (ii) Verbal proclitics, and (iii) Modifier (adjectival/adverbial) proclitics. These are special clitics. All of them are unstressed monosyllabic words. When added to their hosts, they operate as compounds.

Out of the six well recognised criteria that Zwicky & Pullum (1983: 305) suggest for the identification of clitics, four of them are very relevant for PGA clitics.

- (a) Clitics and not affixes are least selective and can attach to any word of a major word class, such as noun, adjective, adverb and verb. By this criterion, class markers in PGA are clitics. PGA class markers also meet at least three other criteria. These are:
- (b) There are no unexpected forms or irregularities in clitics. Hosts are unaffected by clitics.

- (c) There are no semantic idiosyncrasies, as they are predictable to a large extent. It has been observed that PGA speakers readily assign an appropriate class marker to a new word because of its high predictability and semantic transparency.
- (d) Clitics can attach to material already containing clitics, but affixes cannot. The PGA class markers are attracted by the pronominal clitics and can form a word as seen above.

The parameters suggested by Aikhenvald (2002: 42–78) for the identification of clitics match the observations made in PGA. Consider the following arguments.

1. Selectivity: they can attach to nouns, verbs, modifiers, and to other clitics. The class markers, as discussed in the sections above, can attach to all form classes. Moreover, pronominal clitics attach to other class marker proclitics. The latter quality gives rise to the possibility of clitic sequencing.
2. The direction of proclitics is prefixing whilst the language is suffixing in nature. This is the reason they have been termed ‘proclitics’ in this grammar.
3. Phonotactic restrictions are such that they are monosyllabic in nature, except one, i.e., CLASS 6 *ara*=.⁵ The class marker proclitics always start with a vowel, unless specified for inanimate nouns. Despite the fact that the language has ample examples of VV sequences and medial consonant clusters, the proclitics have the shape of V(C). Pronominal clitics are constituted of single sounds, either a vowel or a consonant.
4. Two clitics can combine and result in a lexeme, e.g., a pronominal clitic can combine with body class marker proclitics as in *tʰ + ɛr* ‘1SG + CLASS 2’ meaning ‘mine.’ PGA thus has ‘clitic only’ words. Also refer to §3.8.3 below. The possibility of lexicalisation of class marker proclitics gives us constructions like *tottaral* ‘on’ comprising of *tot* CLASS 4, *tara* CLASS 6 and *-l* ‘locative’ marker. There are other deictic categories which are derived by lexicalising the proclitics. These will be considered in subsequent chapters.

⁵ The hypothesis is that this particular proclitic is derived from the combination of two proclitics, i.e., CL 1 *a*= and CL 6 *ra*=.

5. Clitics can float, unlike affixes. It was considered in the discussion above that the class marker proclitics can be distanced from their host. Pronominal clitics have the option of being attached to the distanced class marker proclitics (56a above) or to a case marker (§7.3), but they always occupy the clause-initial position.
6. Considering the relationship with affixes, the language has few prefixes and infixes, but a large body of suffixes in the areas of number marking, case marking and TAM categories. Barring one example of enclitics PGA offers us evidence for proclitics.
7. Another factor which is usually mentioned in the context of clitics is the degree of grammaticalisation. As noticed above, the degree of grammaticalisation varies from one class marker proclitic to another and from one grammatical category to another. Adverbial proclitics seem to be highly grammaticalised. Refer to §3.7. This factor in combination with the one considered above in (c), proves that not all proclitics have the same degree of grammaticalisation. Some of them are highly grammaticalised while others are still transparent. This fact confirms that these features are part of the language evolutionary path and clitic formation is a diachronic phenomenon.
8. Dixon (2010), while defining various features of clitics, suggests that they have the tendency of occurring at the periphery of all the affixes. That is to say, they are attached after all the affixes have been attached to the root. In PGA the pronominal clitic attaches to the reflexive prefix *em-* 'self' to the left of the whole word as in 'spouse' as in *t^h=em-boi* 'my husband.' Two affixes, on the other hand, cannot combine to make a lexeme.
9. Phonologically, clitics follow the same rules as other words in the language. This is seen most clearly at the morpheme boundary. Thus, class marker proclitic *ut=* CLASS 4 drops the final consonant *t=* across the morpheme boundary if the next syllable starts with a dental plosive.

In PGA proclitics have a very significant status and need to be studied in detail to understand the operation of the grammar.

3.8.3 *Clitic Sequencing*

Pronominal proclitics and class marker proclitics may be sequenced together. The two clitics, simple and special, are strictly ordered in this combination, one of the essential conditions specified for clitic combinations (Gerlach & Grizenhout 2000: 10). The prosodic phenomenon that

dictates the occurrence of these two clitics as one phonological word also qualifies the phenomenon to be that of clitic sequencing (Spencer 2000: 368). Reconsider the phrases given earlier in §3.8.1 using the criterion (iii) given there for clitic sequencing. To recall, we repeat two such examples to show clitic sequencing. We use the symbol = twice to show double clitics.

The verb ‘cut’ is *ut=p^hoke* but the class marker can move and attaches to the pronominal clitic.

- (60) *t^h=ut=* *tɔŋe* *p^hoke*
 1SG=CL 4= tree cut
 ‘I cut the tree.’

The verb ‘get’ is *i=coŋ* but as one can see below *i=* can move next to the subject.

- (61) *ŋ=i=* *tɔkhotec* *coŋ-o*
 2SG=CL 5= money get-DST.PST
 ‘You got the money.’

Although the class markers are compatible with nouns, modifiers and verbs as lexically governed categories, they move towards pronominal clitics. This phenomenon is known in PGA as the SYLLABLE ATTRACTION RULE (refer to §2.5.8). In a construction with a proper noun or a common noun as a subject, or when the pronominal is in its full form (see below) the class marker proclitic is not attracted to the pronoun, but is instead attached to its host as in *ut=cufu* ‘to kill someone with a gun’ or *ot=cobi* ‘to kill a large crowd with a gun’, and *i=rube* ‘to kill by stoning’:

- (62) *ŋu* *lao-bi* *ut=cufu-e*
 2SG foreigner-ABS CL 4=fire-IMP
 ‘You shoot a foreigner (non-Great Andamanese).’
- (63) *a=k^huruc* *lao-n* *ot=cobi-k-o*
 CL 1=police foreigner-PL CL 4=fire-FA-DST.PST
 ‘The police opened fire into a large crowd of foreigners.’
- (64) *t^hu* *meo-ta* *tajio-bi* *i=rub-e*
 1SG stone-INSTR fish-ABS CL 5=kill-IMM.PST
 ‘I killed the fish with a stone.’ or ‘I killed the fish by stoning it.’

Readers may also refer to §10.1.14.

3.9 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

We prefer to name the INA markers proclitics and not prefixes, not only because they precede the host category, but also because of the reasons mentioned above in §3.8.1–3.8.3, which exhibit characteristic features that are never shared by affixes. It appears that these class markers function as proclitics and are the nucleus to which all the other grammatical categories such as nouns, verbs and modifiers are attached as satellites.

We saw that the class markers are grammaticalised in the language and represent an inherent part of the cognitive world of the speakers. While eliciting these words, whether in the areas of nouns, adjectives or verbs, it was observed that the native speakers always attached the content words with these class markers. Thus, when asked for the word ‘slap’, speakers gave the form *ut=bate* and not *bate*. Similarly, the word ‘good’ was not rendered in isolation as *nɔl* but *i=nɔl*. Thus, the various class markers can be analysed morphologically as:

- (i) Possessive proclitics or attributive proclitics
- (ii) Verbal proclitics
- (iii) Modificational proclitics
- (iv) Nominal proclitics
- (v) Pronominal proclitics

Proclitics (i) to (iv) may be long distanced from their host as they have the tendency to be attracted by the pronominal proclitics (v). Figure 3.2 and Table 3.2 summarise our findings.

To summarise, the class markers define and classify nouns, attributes, states and actions in the language. The relationship between two nominal categories or between a nominal and a verbal category (including those defining a state) is seen as inherent where physical separation, if it exists at all, does not make them ‘alienable’, as seen in the case of terms for cut off body parts of animals. The notion of inalienability in the language represents a conceptual dependency between the object and its possessor. It pervades transitive verbs where it establishes an inextricable link between the mode of operation and the effect of an action; or in the case of intransitive verbs it signifies ambience, the resultant experience, or the inherent patient/object noun which cannot be alienated from the verb. It appears with modifiers designating an inherent attribute which cannot be separated from its locus. Table 3.2 represents the semantics of various proclitics and host nouns, modifiers, and verbs. Some markers, if not all, retain the basic meaning of body division classes across form classes.

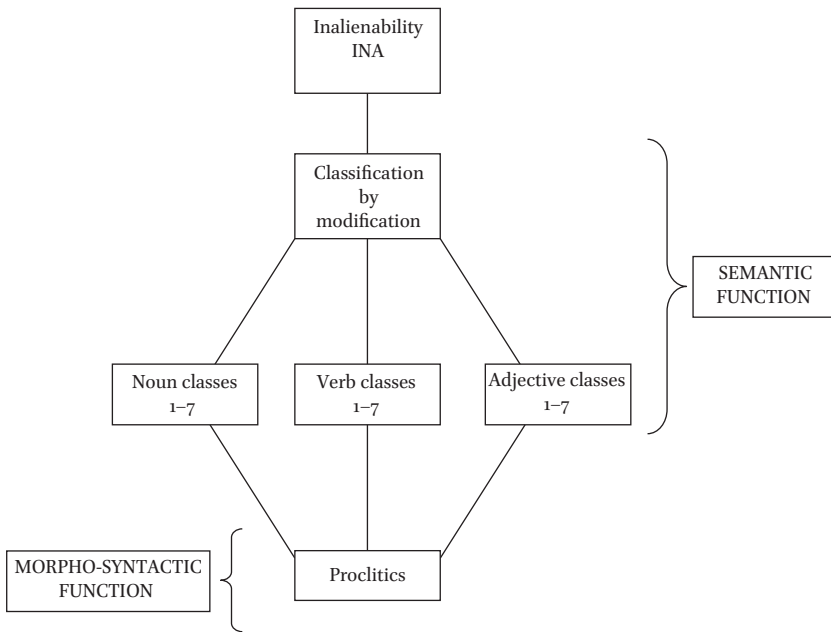


Figure 3.2. The classificatory functions of body class markers in PGA

Table 3.2. Semantics of body division class markers and bound form classes

Class	Body division classes	Body class markers	Verbs	Adjectives	Adverbs
1	mouth and its semantic extension	<i>a=</i>	mouth-related activity, origin	mouth-related, quality of a person	deictic meaning of front or back, anteriority of an action
2	major external body parts	<i>er=</i>	activity in which the front part of the body is involved	attribute of size, external beauty	deictic meaning of adjacency or front, uncontrollable actions/emotions
3	extreme ends of the body like toe and fingernails	<i>oη=</i>	hand-related activity, action to do with extremities of body	attributes related to limbs	manner: 'hurriedly'
4	bodily products and part-whole relationship	<i>ut=</i>	directional, away from the self, experiential	quality of an X after a part is taken out of it	emerging out of something, deictic meaning of 'towards X', 'up'

Table 3.2 (*cont.*)

Class	Body division classes	Body class markers	Verbs	Adjectives	Adverbs
5	organs inside the body	<i>e=, ε=</i>	internalised action, when the effect of an action can be seen on the object, or experienced	inherent attribute of X	deictic meaning of 'in the middle of X', manner: 'slowly'
6	parts designating round shape and sides	<i>ara=</i>	action that involves side or middle portion of the body	attribute of size, 'time' and belly-related	deictic meaning of something in contact with or periphery
7	parts for leg and related terms	<i>o= ~ ɔ=</i>	action which more often than not results in roundish object or in a definite result	external attribute of an X	temporal deixis relating to 'sunrise' or vertical deixis

CHAPTER FOUR

WORD FORMATION PROCESSES

INTRODUCTION

A word in present-day Great Andamanese consists of several bound and free morphemes. It is safe to say that words are formed in four different, but interrelated ways: (a) affixation (b) by attaching proclitics (c) compounding, and (d) by a combination of affixation, proclitics and compounding. There is no evidence of reduplication in the language, other than that found in the words for ‘mother’ and ‘swing.’ There is also no evidence of the expressive morphology that is found in abundance in all South Asian languages (Abbi 1991). The absence of reduplication defies one of the significant Indian areal universals as PGA being the only language of India which does not have this feature.

We shall consider each of the four kinds of word formation processes in the following.

4.1 AFFIXATION

PGA has a number of prefixes and suffixes that attach to roots giving rise to new words with different meanings from the original un-affixed root. Sometimes one has to take recourse to a longer translation because equivalents in English are not expressed in two morphemes. The affixes listed below do not include those affixes which are used as case markers or for forming plurals. Nor does the list include TAM suffixes as they do not, prototypically, form new words. Refer to §5.2.2 for various case marking suffixes and to Chapter 9 on verbs for further information on how the verbal inflection suffixes operate. The following prefixes and suffixes are used to form words in the language.

1. /*em-* ~ *em-* ~ *un-* ~ *um-*/ is a reflexive, as in *p^{he}* ‘drown’, but *em-p^{he}* ‘dive’, *bele* ‘flow’ and *em-bele* ‘overflow’, *bolo* ‘scratch’ and *em-bolo* ‘scratch oneself’, *p^horol* ‘turn’, but *em-p^horol* ‘turn over while sleeping’, *cek^{ho}* ‘face’ and *em-cek^{ho}* ‘agreed’, etc. If the reflexive is prefixed to an inanimate noun it is preceded by *t-*. The reflexive prefix can be infixes between a verbal proclitic and the verb root, e.g., *er=k^hole* ‘to laugh’ can be rendered as *er=em-k^hole* ‘to laugh at

oneself.' Refer to §7.5 also. For details on marking inanimate nouns refer to §3.3.4. Consider the following sentence:

- (1) *roa-bi tum-terk^hεt-o*
 boat-ABS REFL-turn over-DST.PST
 'The boat turned over by itself.'

The following two affixes are constituted of two elements: a body division class marker proclitic and a reflexive affix. Each of them, i.e. the combination of a proclitic and an affix, operates as a single prefix.

2. /*aram-*/ is derived from two bound morphemes, the body division class marker proclitic *ara=* and the reflexive affix *em-* respectively. This is a reflexive morpheme which is attached to verbs designating that the action is directed to 'self.' For example *lať* 'fear', but *aram-lať* 'be scared of', *ben* 'sleep', but *aram-ben* 'to take rest/lie down/sleep.' More often than not, this is attached to action verbs which involve the side of the body. For details refer to §6.2.1.6 and Table 6.14.

- (2) *ȳa-l aram-lifū eola-ø*
 2SG-LOC REFL-end see-PST
 'You saw yourself (in the mirror).'

3. /*εrem-*/ is derived by a combination of the body division class marker proclitic *εr=* and the reflexive affix *em-* ~ *em-*. The combination of the two indicates reciprocal meaning as in *ceo* 'fight', but *εrem-ceo* 'fight with each other.'
4. /*εn-* ~ *en-*/ is a prefix indicating a resultative or an inchoative action as in *εn-oke* 'knit with cane', *εn-ťol* 'bloomed flowers', *εn-tasue* 'cooked food' while *tasue* is itself derived by a combination of the applicative *ta-* and *sue* 'to cook.' *εn-ťolo* 'bloomed ones' as in *caybi εnťolo-k-o* 'flowers have bloomed all over the place.'
5. /-uk^{hi} ~ -juk^{hi} ~ -juk^{he}/ 'agentive' and 'specifier' suffix added to a verb, an adjective or a noun indicates 'the specific one.' For instance, *aono* 'sit' and *aono-juk^{hi}* 'the one who is/was sitting', *nol* 'good' but *nol-juk^{hi}* 'the good one' or 'the one which is good', *ťoya-juk^{he} at^hire* 'the standing child' or 'the child who was standing', etc. This is very much like the Hindi particle *wala* which is suffixed to any content word, i.e., noun, adjective, adverb, or verb for specificity and agentive functions (see Abbi 2001). Refer to §5.3.1.5, §10.1.9, and §10.8 on relativisation.
6. /-bim ~ -bem ~ -im ~ -em ~ -um/ is used as a 'prohibitive' marker.
k^hu -im > *k^hum* 'don't drink', 'not to be consumed'
iji -bim > *ijibim* ~ *ijim* 'don't eat', 'not to be eaten'

7. /-bi/ is a nominaliser suffix which, when attached to a verb root, changes it to a verbal noun. For details see §10.5.4. Consider the following sentences:

(3) *ʈhu* *beno-bi* *inci-k-o*
 1SG sleep-NMLZ go-FA-DST.PST
 'I went to sleep.'

(4) *ʈhu* *tʰ=Ɂna-bi* *inci-k-o*
 1SG 1SG=eat-NMLZ go-FA-DST.PST
 'I went to eat.'

(5) *u* *ʈopʰ-i* *inci-k-om*
 3SG bath- NMLZ go-FA-NPST
 'He is going to take a bath.'

If the finite verb is transitive and is preceded by the object clitic *it=* the nominalisation marker assimilates to it and the combination of the two, i.e., clitic and affix contraction pronounced as [bit], constitutes a single word. Please refer to §2.5.7 and §2.5.8 for details. Consider the following sentences:

(6) *tʰire ɲolo* *bit* *jukʰu*
 child cry NMLZ.OBJ about to
 'The child is about to cry.'

(7) *a=tʰire* *er=er-kʰole-bit* *nol-ɔ*
 CL 1=child CL 2=REFL-play-NMLZ.OBJ well-DST.PST
 'Child's play was good.'

Thus, the word for 'call' *tere* becomes *tere-bit* 'for calling' and 'burn' has a verbal nominal in *irulu-bit* 'for burning.'

8. /-ifo ~ -ico/ is a genitive suffix and indicates alienable possession, e.g. *ʈh=ico julu* 'my clothes', *surmei-ifo bindi* 'Surmei's bindi', *nifo* 'theirs', *reya-ico bol* 'Reya's rope', etc. These also describe modification by possession. Since these are on the borderline of morphology and syntax, they can be considered as forming new phrases and not new words. These are discussed at length in Chapter 6 on possession.

4.2 ATTACHING CLITICS

4.2.1 *Proclitics*

We have so far established that the language offers two types of word classes, dependent and independent, which are observable in nouns, adjectives and verbs. The dependent classes are marked by the body division class markers representing SPECIAL proclitics. Refer to §3.8.2. The combination of various proclitics and content words gives us a large lexicon spanning various and different semantic fields. For example, the lexeme *tei* 'blood' when combined with different proclitics designates different sources of blood. Thus *oŋ=tei* 'blood from finger', *er=tei* 'blood from head', *o=tei* 'blood from legs', *ut=tei* 'oozing out of blood', *e=tei* 'blood inside the body' etc. Similarly, the word *k^hir* means 'hot' but with proclitic 5 as in *e=k^hir* it signifies the 'state of being hot.' However, the same lexeme with proclitic 4 as in *ut=k^hir* changes it into a transitive verb meaning 'heat it.' These examples can be taken as being constituted of two phonological words. Thus, *er=co* 'head' is constituted of two phonological words: *er=* 'CLASS 2.POSS' and *co* 'head' and together they constitute a grammatical word, a noun designating a body part term. Similarly, the word *ot=cone* 'go' is constituted of two phonological words: *ot=* CLASS 4 and the stem *cone* and together, they constitute the verbal category meaning 'go' or 'exit.' This process of attaching proclitics to dependent nominal, verbal and modifier categories is a very productive process of deriving words in the language. We can symbolise this structure as: PROCLITIC + N/V/MOD. The readers may recall that these proclitics are the various BODY DIVISION CLASS MARKERS that were considered earlier in §3.3. Hence, *lea* 'small', but *a=lea* 'slowly'; *ara=karap* 'waist', but *a=karap* 'behind someone'; *e=buŋoi* 'beautiful, inner beauty', but *er=buŋoi* 'beautiful to look at'; *kaŋa* 'young girl', but *ara=kata* 'dwarf'; *luk* 'lap', but *ara=luk* 'weigh'; *jire* 'speak/speech', but *a=jire* 'abuse'; *qelo* 'ball' and *ara=qelo* 'pregnant'; and *tujuro* 'shake', but *uŋ=tujuro* 'trembling of hands', etc. Many adjectives can be derived from nouns by attaching the special proclitics or object clitics. Consider:

sare 'sea' > *e=sare* 'salty' [CL 5=salt]

julu 'cold weather' > *et=a=julu* 'cold, cool' [OBJ=CL 1=cold] > *eta=julu-e* 'cool it'(V)

kata 'a piece' > *et=kata* 'round' [OBJ=a piece]

co lobŋ 'big head' > *e=co lobŋ* 'clever' [CL 5=head long]

bo i=ter=cek 'big heart' > *aka bo i=ter=cek* 'kind' [3SG heart CL 5=POSS 2=much]

tek^ho cae 'talk bad' > *aka tek^ho cae* 'rude, impolite'

tek^ho tara=kamo 'talk CL 6=much' > *aka tek^ho tara=kamo* 'talkative'
jom 'food, eat' > *aka-jom* 'greedy' [3SG-food]
kaṭa 'girl' > *ara=kaṭa* 'dwarf' [CL 6=girl]

In addition to body division class markers operating as proclitics, PGA offers the proclitic /*ta=*/ as a causative or applicative; *ta=aono* 'make someone sit.' A speculation can be made that the causative proclitic could have been derived from the body division class marker 1 which is *a=* or *ta=*. Since the dichotomy between noun and verb is not particularly strict, as we saw in the previous chapter, the same proclitic can generate a nominal category. The proclitic /*ta=*/ can be attached to the same root *aono* to refer to the object on which the action of sitting is performed, e.g., 'chair' or 'stool.' It is the word order which disambiguates the reference. The *ta=* proclitic with verbs of an intransitive nature is productively used to generate transitive verbs such as *t^hu* 'be born', but *ta=t^hu* 'give birth to', *ḡolo* 'cry' and *ta=ḡolo* 'make someone cry', etc. It is a very productive proclitic as the generic words referring to 'birds', 'fish', and 'animals' are derived by affixing this to the root morpheme meaning 'living creature.' Consider some of the examples below:

ta=jio-cor [CAUS=living being-scales] 'fish'
ta=jio-tut-bec [CAUS=living being-POSS 4=feathers] 'birds'
ta=jio [CAUS=living being] 'animals'

For details on causative formation please refer to §9.6.

Readers should refer to Chapter 3 for more information on how the attachment of proclitics generates new words with varying meanings and semantic extensions.

The combination of seven body division class markers or proclitics and a number of content words has given rise to a large vocabulary. As language evolution is a diachronic process with increasing stages of grammaticalisation, and which eventually leads to the lexicalisation of morphemes giving rise to independent words, PGA also has a large number of lexical items where various proclitics and affixes have been lexicalised. Words such as *okara* 'sunset' or *taratal* 'right under', *otle* 'seaward', *amu* 'dumb', *obaloḡ* 'round' have been lexicalised to such an extent that it is difficult to segregate affixes or proclitics from the bound stem. One can hypothesise that the bound grammaticalised morphemes, i.e. proclitics, infused with the host morphemes over a long period of development of the language, and thus, created a large number of new words.

4.2.2 *Enclitics*

There is one example of an enclitic =*n* in the language which indicates plurality. It co-varies with the word *nu* ~ *no* for ‘people’ which is also used as a second constituent of the compound indicating plurality. Thus, *cao nu* ‘dogs’ can co-vary with the form *cao=n* ‘dogs’ without any change in the meaning. Refer also to §5.1.

4.2.3 *Object Clitics*

In addition to special clitics symbolised in body division classes, there are several monosyllabic grammaticalised¹ bound forms that attach to verbs. These are: *it=* ~ *et=*, *ek=* ~ *ik=*. Many transitive verbs are attached to the right of these object clitics to symbolise the nature of the object and the manner of the action. For instance, *tɔl* ‘flower’, but *it=tɔl* ‘break’ and *ik=tɔl* ‘pluck flowers.’

- (8) *u* *lec* *ik=terta-l-om*
 3SG arrow OBJ=shoot-FA-NPST
 ‘He shoots arrows.’
- (9) *ŋo* *ik=cat-o*
 2SG OBJ=work-DST.PST
 ‘What did you do?’
- (10) *a=thire mite-k^hudi* *et=ŋolo-m*
 CL 1=child milk-for OBJ=cry-NPST
 ‘The child is crying for milk.’
- (11) *t^hu* *ek=boniŋo* *ot=nɔl-o*
 1SG OBJ=understand CL 4=well-DST.PST
 ‘I understood it well.’
- (12) *a=meo* *ŋu* *ek=ter-o*
 CL 1=Meo 2SG OBJ=push-DST.PST
 ‘Meo pushed you.’

To summarise, PGA has the following clitics, most of them are used to form new words.

¹ They also seem to be derived from some of the body division classes, but it is difficult to trace their origin due to the limited data available from the last few speakers.

- Body division class marker proclitics: seven in all: *a=*, *er=*, *oŋ=*, *ut=*, *e=*, *ara=*, and *o=*. Each of these has a number of allomorphs as stated earlier in Chapter 3.
- The causative or applicative proclitic *a=* ~ *ta=* can derive transitive verbs from intransitive or causative from transitive verbs. It can be used to generate a nominal category as we saw above in §4.2.1 for the word for ‘chair.’
- Object clitics: *ik=* and *it=* and their variant forms.
- Enclitics: only one, which is *=n* to indicate plurality. It does not form new words.

4.3 COMBINATION OF AFFIXATION AND CLITICS

PGA forms new words by combining affixes and proclitics, especially with words in the deictic categories (refer to §2.5.8). For example, the locative case marker, *-l*, which is suffixed to a locational noun, can be combined with a variety of proclitics and affixes to form a word which specifies the exact location of the object under consideration. Consider Table 4.1.

There are phonological words that are derived from two bound morphemes, each of them bound by the preceding and the following bound stems. However, the stress pattern and the pause between the words render these bound morphemes as one phonological word. For instance, we witnessed earlier in §4.1 that the absolutive *-bi*, which is suffixed to a noun, and the object clitic, which is attached to the following verb, can combine together to form one phonological word, viz. *bit* as in sentences 6 and 7 above. Similarly, other phonological words that can be derived by combining various clitics and affixes are the following. Sometimes a word is derived by combining two clitics and sometimes by combining a clitic and an affix, and further, rarely by the combination of two affixes:

Table 4.1. Spatial words and the combination of clitics and affixes

English gloss	Andamanese form	Morphology
on	<i>tut=ara:=l</i>	CL 4=CL 6=LOC
inside	<i>k=ut=ara:=l</i>	OBJ=CL 4=CL 6=LOC
under	<i>tum-bo-l</i>	REFL-heart-LOC
near	<i>cu-l</i>	near-LOC
away	<i>ta=cak^hu-l</i>	CL 1=platform-LOC
in front of	<i>ter=cok^he-l</i>	CL 2=face-LOC
behind (lit. back)	<i>ut=bo-l</i>	CL 4=back-LOC

- (a) *tʰut* < tʰ=ut= (1SG= CL 4) ‘my’
- (b) *tʰɛm* < tʰ=ɛm (1SG= REFL) ‘myself’
- (c) *tʰota* < tʰo-ta (1SG=ABL) ‘from me’
- (d) *bit* < -bi + it= (ABS + OBJ)
- (e) *bin* < -bi + en- (ABS + RESULT)
- (f) *bik* < -bi + ek= (ABS + OBJ)

In (a–b) the first constituent is a pronominal clitic and the second constituent is either a proclitic (a) or a reflexive prefix (b). Example (c) demonstrates that any pronominal clitic can be combined with case markers to constitute one phonological word. In (d–f) the first constituent is bound to the word on the left and the second is bound to the word on the right, e.g., [*kona-bi*] [*it=phoke*] [‘tendu fruit-ABS’] [‘OBJ=cut’] ‘cut the tendu fruit’, which, when rendered, has two bound morphemes appearing as one phonological word as in *kona bit phoke*. Also refer to §2.5.7 and §2.5.8, the syllable attraction rule. These kinds of structures are also discussed in §9.3.

4.4 COMPOUNDING

The productive process of deriving words by compounding is well covered in the linguistic literature. There are several definitions and explanations given for the concept of ‘compounds.’ As PGA compounds do not fall neatly into one specific pattern, I will describe the morpho-semantic characteristics of the compounds rather than define or identify the definition of compounds. As mentioned earlier, compounding in conjunction with affixation and cliticisation facilitates a large number of word derivations which will be discussed in the following.

4.4.1 Formation of Compounds

There is a broad two-way division in PGA compounds: (i) where the meaning is compositional, i.e., where the composite meaning of a compound is provided by the individual meanings of the constituents of the compound as we saw in the case of antonyms given above; (ii) where meaning is not compositional, i.e., where the meaning of a compound is not transparent from its constituents. The compound in this case refers to a third independent entity and is also known as ‘idiomatic’, referring to a specific kind of X, or which constitutes a LEXICAL CLASS TYPE (Waelchli 2005: 105). This kind is also known as *Bahuvrihi* in Panini’s grammar (5th century B.C.).

Diachronically, the non-compositional compounds can be seen as the last stage of a grammaticalisation process in language development where the lexical meaning of each of the constituents is delexicalised to form a new meaning. Most of the proper names or specific names of the objects in PGA are derived from non-compositional compounds. Interestingly, there is no fixed word order in the compound formation. Hence, we have examples of right-headed and left-headed compounds.

The following is a list of potential candidates for compounds and the order of their appearance in a word in PGA. The combination of grammatical categories is shown by a plus symbol.

- N + MOD
- N + N (Lexical construct (Fabri 1996))
- N + V or V + N
- N + PROCLITIC + N
- N + PROCLITIC + V
- N + PROCLITIC + MOD

I will now discuss each of these types of compounds in the following sections.

4.4.1.1 *Noun + Modifier*

These are left-headed compounds and conform to the word order of the modified (noun) and the modifier. These are descriptive in nature.

Table 4.2. Left-headed compounds

	Noun	Adjective	Gloss	Meaning
1	<i>k^hider</i>	<i>p^huŋ</i>	coconut + dry	dry coconut
2	<i>ino</i>	<i>julu</i>	water + cold	cold water
3	<i>firo</i>	<i>liu</i>	sea + little	low level sea
4	<i>tatamo</i>	<i>qirim</i>	lizard + black	black lizard
5	<i>buruin</i>	<i>leo</i>	hill + small	hillock
6	<i>firo</i>	<i>cerel</i>	sea-green	vast sea, expanse of sea

4.4.1.2 *Noun + Noun*

These are right-headed compounds as the leftmost constituent modifies the rightmost constituent. These are *Tatpuruṣa* compounds where the second member has primacy. The first member of the compound is in a case relationship with the second one. Thus in example 1 in Table 4.3 it

Table 4.3. Right-headed compounds

	Noun	Noun	Gloss	Meaning
1	<i>teo</i>	<i>mulu</i>	crocodile + eggs	eggs of crocodile
2	<i>teo</i>	<i>rule</i>	crocodile + eyes	eyes of crocodile
3	<i>meo</i>	<i>p^hoŋ</i>	stone + cave	cave made of stone
4	<i>murgi</i>	<i>thire</i>	hen + children	chicken
5	<i>cokbi</i>	<i>thomo</i>	turtle + skin	turtle's skin
6	<i>k^hider</i>	<i>ɕŋ</i>	coconut + tree	coconut tree
7	<i>k^hider</i>	<i>ino</i>	coconut + water	coconut water
8	<i>ɕok^ho</i>	<i>tei</i>	tree + blood	Gum from a tree
9	<i>juk^hu</i>	<i>bec</i>	above lip area + hair	moustache
10	<i>tap</i>	<i>bec</i>	jaw + hair	beard
11	<i>teo</i>	<i>buk^hu</i>	crocodile + female	female crocodile
12	<i>bucɔ</i>	<i>ɕŋ</i>	mangrove + tree	mangrove tree

is ‘eggs—GENITIVE—crocodile’, while in the last two examples (11 and 12) it is a variety of *Tatpuruṣ* known as *karmadhāraya* (descriptive) in Sanskrit. In *karmadhāraya* the relation of the first member to the last is appositional, attributive or adverbial.

This conforms to the word order in genitive and possessive phrases.

4.4.1.3 *Noun + Verb or Verb + Noun*

A compound in this category becomes non-compositional as the individual constituent does not carry the meaning of each of the constituents used in the compound formation. Instead, the compound refers to some specific meaning other than those specified by the constituents. Most of the bird names are derived by this process. As can be seen from Table 4.4 the names of birds seem to be derived by juxtaposing the attributes of various kinds with particular reference to birds and their habits. It appears that as time passed these compound words became highly grammaticalised and became reference terms. The system of naming and classification of Great Andamanese birds is dealt with in Pande & Abbi (2011).

Other than birds, the naming of various objects of flora and fauna follows the same principle of compounding. For example names such as *ɾɔi ban* ‘a kind of greenish crab’ is derived from two words *ɾɔi* ‘crab’ and *ban* ‘a kind of leaf’; the word *comulu* ‘a kind of tree that bears small fruits and grows by the sea shore’ is derived from two independent words *co* ‘seed’ or ‘head’ and *mulu* ‘eggs.’

Table 4.4. Non-compositional compounds

	Noun	Verb	Verb	Noun	Gloss	Names of Great Andamanese birds in English
1	<i>cε</i>	<i>lele</i>	—	—	pointed object + swing	Oriental Plover
2			<i>ren</i>	<i>kɔ</i>	pinch + black ticks	Andaman Green Pigeon
3			<i>cɔ</i>	<i>tɔt</i>	tie up + bark of a tree	Eurasian Woodcock
4			<i>kara</i>	<i>aŋ-com</i>	ascend from water + wood - betel nut	White-bellied Sea Eagle
5			<i>mili</i>	<i>ɖu</i>	move + sun/glitter	Emerald Dove
6	<i>t^hirin</i>	<i>cɔɾɔlo</i>			babies + downward flowing in space	Indian Hanging Parrot (it hangs upside down from trees)

Table 4.5. Compositional compounds

N-CLASS=N	Meaning of individual constituents	Meaning of the compound
<i>lao-tara=jyo</i>	foreigner-CL 6=house	residence of foreigners (now known as the city of Port Blair)
<i>bɔ-tara=iu</i>	chest-CL 6=pain	chest pain
<i>k^hider-tot=kɔbo</i>	coconut-CL 4=skin	coconut peel/husk of coconut
<i>biluk^hu-tut=jyo</i>	God-CL 4=house	cobweb
<i>lec-tara=t^homo</i>	arrow-CL 6=flesh	quiver
<i>ɖiu-tara=le</i>	sun-CL 6=edge	direction of sunset, sunset, West
<i>ɖiu-ter=bec</i>	sun-CL 2=hair	hiding of the sun in the clouds, cloud cover
<i>ɖiu-tara=bat</i>	sun-CL 6=dark	dusk

4.4.1.4 Noun + Proclitic + Noun

When two nouns are attached to each other by an intervening proclitic indicating body division class, they can form a compound. This process gives us both right-headed compounds as well as compositional compounds, where the meaning is transparent.

4.4.1.5 Noun + Proclitic + Verb/Modifier

Nouns and verbs, or nouns and modifiers with an intervening body division class marker proclitic can be coordinated to form a *Bahuvrīhi*

compound. Thus, *firo ter=cek* (sea CL 2=far) ‘centre of the sea’; *bo i=ter=cek* (heart CL 5=CL 2=much) ‘kind person, person with a large heart’; *tək^ho tara=kamo* (talk CL 6=much) ‘talkative’, are derived by this method.

4.4.1.6 Combination of Proclitics, Affixes, and Compounds

Non-compositional compounds are also formed by (1) a combination of two free nouns, or (2) two dependent nouns, i.e., each attached with a proclitic or (3) a combination of affix and nouns or verbs. More often than not, they are *Bahuvrihi* compounds where the referent does not carry the lexicalised meaning of the words in question, e.g. *ut=julu ter=cək^ho* (CL 4=front of/adorn CL 2=face) ‘mirror.’

A proclitic can also be attached to two nouns in succession as in *tara=ca-jobu* (CL 6=nest-jewel) ‘shining nest’, ‘Edible–nest Swiftlet’, or to two different form classes in succession, e.g., *e=co-loboy* (CL 5=head-long) ‘big headed’ or ‘clever’; *ot=tei-k^ha* (CL 4=blood-HORTATIVE) ‘blood extract/emit (voluntary)’, ‘murderer.’

Consider Table 4.6 for words derived from a combination of proclitics and compounds or a combination of proclitics, affixes and nouns. These are non-compositional compounds.

Table 4.6. Combination of proclitics, affixes and nouns

Number	Great Andamanese	Morpheme-to-morpheme gloss	Free translation in English	Gloss in English
1	<i>er=i=kak</i>	CL 2=CL 5=DIR	towards something with internalised result	Aim at
2	<i>ot=tei-k^ha</i>	CL 4=blood-HORTATIVE	blood extract/emit -voluntary	Murderer
3	<i>tara=ca-jobu</i>	CL 6=nest-jewel	shining nest	Edible-nest Swiftlet
4	<i>cɔ-tɔ-l</i>	seen suddenly-sky-LOC	The one which is seen very rarely in the sky, i.e. a migratory bird	Chinese Sparrow Hawk
5	<i>cɛ-le-ne</i>	pointed object (beak)-crab-PL	Crab eater bird	Crab plover
6	<i>ta-ie</i>	CAUS-pain	The pain giver	Little Tern (named after its shrill voice)
7	<i>ter=en-cok^hole</i> or <i>ter=en-co-p^hol-e</i>	CL 2=REFL-head/face-see OR CL 2=REFL-head-love-AGT	Self face/head seeing one OR Self head lover	Looking glass, mirror

Table 4.6 (*cont.*)

Number	Great Andamanese	Morpheme-to-morpheme gloss	Free translation in English	Gloss in English
8	<i>et-ta-p^hul</i>	RESULT-ABL-love	The one who is separated from the loved one	The one who loses a sibling
9	<i>aka-bere</i> <i>tara=kɔmo</i>	3SG.GEN-toad/frog CL 6=too much	Someone who leaps like a frog in talk	One who talks about himself/herself only
10	<i>aka-ker-tot=l</i> <i>:coŋ</i>	3SG-throat-CL 4=hanging	Thing that hangs in the throat	Uvula

4.4.1.7 *Antonyms*

In addition to these compounds, antonyms in PGA can be derived by adding the negative verb *p^ho* ‘not’ to a noun or a modifier. Thus:

nɔl ‘good’ > *nɔl-p^ho* ‘bad’ [good + NEG]

eleo ‘small’ > *eleo-p^ho* ‘big’ [small + NEG]

caecaŋo ‘work’ > *caecaŋo-p^ho* ‘useless’ [work-NEG]

ot=bo-nɔl ‘happy’ > *ot=bo-nɔl-p^ho* ‘unhappy’ [CL 4.POSS=heart-good-NEG]

The negative *p^ho* can assume a full lexical status and can be used as a negative verb with appropriate tense marking. This will be discussed in Chapter 10.

4.4.1.8 *Summary of Compounds*

There are many possible semantic relations between different parts of a compound. PGA employs various kinds of compounds each explicating a distinct semantic relation between any two or three phonological words that enter into a compound relationship. These compounds are the most productive process of word formation.

1. Endocentric compounds where the core meaning is carried by the ‘head’ of the compound.
2. Exocentric compounds, where the status of all the elements in a compound formation is equal, without a head, e.g. the words for ‘quiver’ or ‘sunset’ or ‘cobweb.’
3. Non-compositional compounds, where the constituents of a compound do not carry their individual lexical meaning. The compound in this case refers to a new entity, as in the case of bird names.

Since the language uses a dependent marking system for all content words such as nouns, verbs and modifiers, it is not surprising to see a combination of cliticised stems forming compounds. The examples that are found without the BODY DIVISION CLASSES are semantically either non-compositional compounds, i.e., *co-bol* (seed-rope) 'knot' or endocentric compounds, e.g., *tajiocor-bat^{he}* 'fish-fins' or *cokbi-~~th~~omu* 'turtle's flesh.' The endocentric compounds are the most frequent compounds found in the language.

As stated at the beginning of the chapter, there are no cases of 'reduplication' in the language. The only examples that were attested were *lele* 'swing' or *mimi* 'mother.' Other Great Andamanese languages such as Bo and Khorá, that are now extinct, seem to have had reduplication of a syllable to form a new word. For instance, a folk song in Bo attested words like *gila gila* 'sitting with arms around knees.' There was one case of echo-formation *t^{hi}re-t^{hi}ro* 'children etc.' perhaps from the influence of Hindi. All in all, complete reduplication of a word or of a syllable, or partial reduplication as in echo formation is not a strategy that PGA allows for forming new words.

CHAPTER FIVE

NOUNS AND NOUN PHRASES

NOUNS

There are two types of nouns in present-day Great Andamanese (PGA): dependent and independent. Dependent nouns obligatorily take a body division class marker denoting inalienable possession or an inherent relation between the possessor and the possessed as discussed in §3.3. The nominal category which denotes the body, whether it designates a part of the body, a product of the body or something that is related to the body is considered to be dependent. All body part terms, kinship terms, participles, as well as nouns referring to time, direction, and depth are dependent nouns and thus are obligatorily preceded by a BODY DIVISION CLASS MARKER as a PROCLITIC. These are considered in detail in Chapter 3 as well as in Chapters 6 and 8 on ‘Possession’ and ‘Modification and deixis’ respectively. It was mentioned in §3.3.3 that words for physical attributes, physical and mental ailments are also preceded by a body division class marker. These markers, in addition to representing ‘inherent’ aspects, symbolise the location of the nominal object with respect to the body. Some examples considered before are repeated below to recapture the discussion:

- (a) *ot=cala* (CLASS 4=scar) ‘scar left by arrow-head’
- (b) *er=cala* (CLASS 2=scar) ‘scar on the head’
- (c) *oŋ=cala* (CLASS 3=scar) ‘scar on the limbs’
- (d) *e=tei* (CLASS 5=blood) ‘blood inside the body’
- (e) *ot=tei* (CLASS 4=blood) ‘blood outside the body’ [when bleeding]
- (f) *oŋ=tei* (CLASS 3=blood) ‘blood on finger or from finger’

Nouns designating different kinds of ailments take different class markers depending on which part of the body is affected. For instance:

- (a) *ara=mik^hu-tei* (CLASS 6=middle-blood/pain) ‘stomach ache’
- (b) *er=beɭe* (CLASS 2=pimples) ‘pimples’
- (c) *er=co bie* (CLASS 2=head-pain) ‘headache’
- (d) *er=e-ŋe* (CLASS 2=CLASS 5-measles) ‘measles’
- (e) *ot=tei* (CLASS 4=pain) ‘splitting headache’

All in all, PGA marks the following nouns as dependent categories and thus body part semantics can individuate noun references. One of the seven class markers discussed earlier precedes these noun categories. Also refer to Chapter 6 on possession.

1. Kinship terms (exceptions are 'son' and 'daughter')
2. Body parts, body products, tattoos, body paint, body attributes
3. Home, village, courtyard
4. Language, words
5. Ailments, both physical and mental
6. Boat, head gear, cap, covering for private parts made of leaves, clothes (in modern times) and boat
7. Spatial terms
8. Parts of objects or parts of a component
9. Terms relating to the sea and landscape terms
10. Incorporal, viz. spirits, ghosts, supernatural beings and soul

Independent nouns are those that refer to the names of flora and fauna, and generic names for celestial bodies and other words related to the environment.

These nouns remain invariant in their shape when a case marker, whether a suffix or an adposition, is suffixed to them.

A minimal nominal word can consist of just of a root, or a proclitic + root, or root + root (as in compounds), or a combination of the two. Nominal compounds can be very long as they are formed of multiple roots. These are quite frequent in the language. Refer to Chapter 4 on word formation processes.

5.1 NUMBER AND GENDER

There are three numbers, singular, dual and plural encoded in pronominal forms (see §7.1 on pronouns). However, nouns in general are not marked for duality and plurality. The word *nu ~ ne ~ ni ~ in* 'people' is suffixed to a few select animate nouns to mark plurality.¹ As discussed in the last chapter this form can also appear as an enclitic =*n*. For instance,

¹ Interestingly, this feature of forming the plural by juxtaposing the word for 'people' to animate nouns is very common in Hindi spoken in the Northeast of India. Thus *kutta log* 'dog people' refers to the additive plural 'dogs.'

bukhu-ne untele ‘call the ladies’, but *mimi=n untele* ‘call the mothers.’ Similarly, *ese* ‘mother in law’, but *ese=n* ‘mothers-in-law.’ The forms *nu*, *no* and *ni* can also be used for the word ‘people’ or in a generic sense of ‘and others’ independently (4–5). We can safely say that the word *nu* ‘people’ is grammaticalised as a plural marker enclitic =*n*.

- (1) *thire=ni* *kona-bi* *ralifu-k-o*
 child=PL kona=ABS finish-FA-DST.PST
 ‘Children finished the tendu fruit’
- (2) *ɲ=ut* *thire=n* *coph^he* *bi*
 2SG=CL 4.POSS child=PL much COP
 ‘You have many children.’
- (3) *k^hudi=no* *cae-bi* *cafo-k-o*
 3PROX.INT=PL what=ABS work-FA-DST.PST
 ‘What were they doing?’

The word *nu* for ‘people’, as can be seen in the following examples, assumes the subject position and acts as an independent word.

- (4) *a=* *cafu* *nu* *portbler-ak* *nepo-b-e* < *nu epobe*
 CL 1= who people Port Blair-DIR people.leave-FA-NPST
 ‘Who all will leave for Port Blair?’
- (5) *a=* *raja* *unni* *jira-l* *nu* *iku=belij-ø*
 CL 1= king 3PL speak-NRR.PST people OBJ.CLT=cut-PST
 ‘The king told them, the people cut (the tree).’ or
 ‘The king had the people cut the tree.’

The plural marker is also attached to proper nouns to indicate additional non specified members. Consider the following sentences.

- (6) *Naobulini εk terta*
Nao-Buli-ni *εk= terta-ø*
Nao-Buli-people OBJ.CLT= narrate-PST
 ‘Nao narrated a story to Buli and others (other children).’
- (7) *ɲale amimin unteleke*
ɲale *a=mimi=n* *untele-k^h-e*
 2PL.HON CL 1=mother=PL call loudly-FA-IMP
 ‘Call your mothers.’ (Referring to several of them)

Note further that many words denoting domestic animals, for example ‘dogs’, can have plural forms marked by *nu*, while others, such as the word for ‘pigs’ or ‘cats’, cannot.

- (8) *cao-nu* *ra-be* *na-om*
 dog-PL pig-ABS bark-NPST
 ‘Dogs are barking at the pigs.’
- (9) *cao-nu* *k^heŋe-be* *na-b-o*
 dog-PL cat-ABS bark-FA-DST.PST
 ‘Dogs barked at the cats.’

As discussed in §3.2.4 temporal deictic markers are attached to pronominal proclitics on their left. In the following sentence plural pronominal proclitic *n=* co-refers the plural subject of the sentence. Consider:

- (10) *reya* *rengi* *streŋ-ak* *n=ambikhir* *ɔt=cɔni-b-ɔm*
 Reya Renge Strait-DIR 3PL-morning CL 4=go-FA-NPST
 ‘Reya and Renge will go to Strait tomorrow.’

Another strategy of forming the plural is to use the quantifier for ‘many’ or ‘much’ *cɔfe* to indicate inanimate as well as non-human animate plurals. Thus, constructions such as *pata cɔfe* ‘many mushrooms’ or *ra cɔfe* ‘pigs’ are common. However, quantifier and plural markers may coexist (11) with human nouns.

- (11) *t^hire=n* *cɔphe*
 child=PL many
 ‘Many children’

An alternative pattern is also emerging where the plural morpheme *-ni* is totally dropped and is replaced by *cɔfe* even in human nouns. Hence *t^hire cɔfe* ‘many children’ is not uncommon in the speech of some speakers.

- (12) *ŋu(t)* *t^hire* *cɔfe* *be*
 2SG.CL 4.POSS child many COP
 ‘You have many children.’

5.1.1 Numerals

There are only two numbers available: ‘one’ and ‘two.’ No one in the community remembers whether they had more than two numbers. Any count

beyond two is ‘many.’ However, one consultant gave us the word *incinkə* for ‘three.’ Manoharan (1989) notes the word for ‘four’ as *maɛxuccol* which was translated by our consultant as ‘the last one.’ An interesting feature about numerals is that cardinals can act as predicates. Consider:

- (13) *tʰu (t)=tʰire* *tɔplə*
 1SG.CL 4.POSS = child one
 ‘I have one child.’
- (14) *tʰu (t)=tʰir-in* *nɛrtapʰul*
 1SG.CL 4.POSS = child-PL two
 ‘I have two children.’
- (15) *tʰu (t)=tʰire* *akaʃa* *nɛrtapʰul*
 1SG.CL 4.POSS=child girl two
 ‘I have two daughters.’
- (16) *tʰu(t)=tʰire* *narakamu*
 1SG.CL 4.POSS=child many
 ‘I have many children.’

5.1.2 Gender

There is no grammatical gender in PGA. It does not encode grammatical gender in agreement, as can be seen from the following examples (17–18). Nor is gender morphologically coded on nouns. However, the word *bukʰu* for ‘female’ or ‘woman’ is productively used in a compound formation to signify female counterparts of male entities. For instance, *cao* ‘dog’, but *cao-bukʰu* ‘bitch.’

- (17) *sita konapʰuɲbi jiyom*
 sita kona-pʰuɲ-bi iji-om
 Sita tendu-ripe-ABS eat-NPST
 ‘Sita is eating a ripe tendu.’
- (18) *ram konabi jiyom*
 ram kona-bi iji-om
 Ram tendu-ABS eat-NPST
 ‘Ram is eating a tendu.’

5.2 CASE

As we saw in Chapter 3, ‘Grammar overview’, PGA is an ergative-absolutive language with a fluid S function. The language offers two different sets of markers, one for prototypical agent nominals, *-e* suffixed to the agent nouns, and another one, *-bi* attached to the subject of unergative intransitive verbs, the subject of unaccusative verbs and the object nominals. We have symbolised this relationship as:

So = Sa = O	→ <i>-bi</i>	ABSOLUTIVE
A	→ <i>-e</i> or unmarked	ERGATIVE

This means that PGA maintains the ergative-absolutive distinction with the absolutive being overtly marked. We also notice some instances of case-alternation.

PGA does not have prototypical cases, but does have case markings that appear as case suffixes. The case markings prototypically encode participants’ roles and are more in the order of relators relating the noun with the verb. Some of the relations are very detailed and specific while others are generic. Hence, there are many locative markings as can be seen in §8.4 on deixis, while the patient, agent or instrumental are not classified in such detail. Moreover, some case markings are optional such as ‘nominative’, ‘accusative’, ‘dative’, but others such as ‘instrumental’ and ‘ablative’ are obligatorily marked. Hence, many times an argument appears without any case suffix and its meaning is designated by the context. Another interesting feature concerning the noun-verb relationship is that this relation is also designated by the proclitic attached to verb roots. For instance, experiential verbs that co-occur with non-nominative or dative subjects are marked by the CLASS 4 proclitic.

5.2.1 *Arguments*

Human subjects and objects, particularly those with proper names, are always preceded by CLASS 1 proclitic *a=* in the Jeru and Bo varieties. This means the marker is not present in the speech of Khora, Pujjukar and Sare. Also refer to §3.1.3.

- (19) *a kaba a buro ikjiral a bie ta-eluk^ho*
 a=kaba a=buro ik=jira-l a=bie ta-e=luk^h-o
 CL 1=Kaba CL 1=Buro 3SG.OBJ=tell-CONV CL 1=Bie TR-CL 5=pick-DST.PST
 ‘Kaba asked Buro to pick up Bie.’

(20) *aboa ameo ikjiral ikubeliŋ*

a=boa a=meo ik=jira-l ik=u(t)=beliŋ-ø
 CL 1=Boa CL 1=Meo 3SG.OBJ-tell-CONV 3SG.OBJ=CL 4=cut-PST
 'Boa asked Meo to break the coconut.'

5.2.2 *Case Markings*

Case marks the relationship of a noun to a verb at the clause level or of a noun to a postposition, or another noun at the phrase level. In PGA case marking appears in two forms: (a) a bound form as a case suffix attached to nouns and noun phrases and, (b) as an independent phonological word as an adposition appearing after noun phrases. Adpositions indicate the grammatical or semantic relationship of a noun phrase to the verb in the containing clause.

The case suffixes are presented in the following table. Some of them are homophonous.

Table 5.1. Case markings

Case/relators	Suffixed post-nominally
Absolutive (So, Sa)	<i>-bi</i> ~ <i>ø</i>
Agentive	<i>-e</i> , ~ <i>-ø</i>
Dative	<i>-i</i> , <i>-bi</i>
Instrumental	<i>-ta</i>
Ablative	<i>-ta</i>
Genitive, alienable	<i>-iŋo</i> ~ <i>-ico</i>
Comitative	<i>-kɔc</i>
Purposive/benefactive	<i>-ɔkka</i> / <i>-kocara</i>
Directional	<i>-ak</i> ~ <i>-a</i>
Locative	<i>-al</i> ~ <i>-il</i> ~ <i>-el</i> ~ <i>-l</i>

Readers will notice that there exist, throughout the grammar of PGA, many instances of optional overt representation of any argument marking, hence zero marking alternates with agentive *-e* and with absolutive *-bi*. This could be due to the process involved in the genesis of koiné or due to some pragmatic reasons.

5.2.2.1 *Intransitive Subject Marking*

The subject of an intransitive which has an O (So)-like function [non-action verbs] as in 'vessel filled up', 'sun showed up', 'moon appeared', etc., and the subject of an intransitive which has an A-like function (Sa)

[action verbs, but involuntary and uncontrollable], ‘baby slept’, ‘hens roamed around’, ‘they dreamt’, etc., are marked by the ABSOLUTIVE case suffix *-bi*. The case markers are underlined in the following examples.

- (21) *farebi jiokɔ*
 Sare-bi jio-k-ɔ
 sea-ABS come down-FA-DST.PST
 ‘The sea has come down.’
- (22) *t^{hi}re-bi ɲol-om*
 child-ABS cry-NPST
 ‘The child cries.’
- (23) *beibi tunɕlo*
 bei-bi tun-ɕl-o
 bottle-ABS REFL-break-DST.PST
 ‘The bottle broke (itself).’
- (24) *mɔcɔbci t^{hi}ka:la:m*
 mɔcɔ-bi t^{hi}i ka:la:-m
 hen-ABS Earth roam-NPST
 ‘The hen is roaming on the earth/ground.’
- (25) *bɔrbe bɔrom*
 bɔr-be bɔr-om
 wind-ABS blow-NPST
 ‘Wind is blowing.’

Plural subject nouns are not marked for their argument functions. Absence of markings are shown with a zero symbol \emptyset . However, we could attest a few cases of plural pronouns marked for argument structure in narration. See ‘Text’ (sentences 81, 82 and 85) given at the end of the grammar. It should be mentioned here that the majority of the speakers do not attach any case marking to plural pronominal forms.

- (26) *t^{hi}irenu ɲolom*
 t^{hi}ire-nu- \emptyset ɲol-om
 child-PL cry-NPST
 ‘The children are crying.’
- (27) *o aɕ era p^huvom*
 o- \emptyset aɕ era=p^hu-om
 3SG wood CL 2=cut-NPST
 ‘He is cutting the trees.’

5.2.2.2 Transitive Subject Marking and Ergative/Agentive

The agentive marking, *-e*, is suffixed to the agentive noun. Pronominals in their clitic forms can be suffixed by it as in *tʰe* 'I' or *ɲe* 'you.' This feature appears to be falling into disuse. The ERGATIVE marker, *-e*, is not obligatory in every speaker's speech. Thus, agent nouns are not marked by *-e* in sentences (29–30).

(28) *afyame bas kuttaral konabit beliŋo*

α=fyam-e bas kottral kona-bi it=beliŋ-o
CL 1=Shyam-ERG bus inside tendu-ABS 3OBJ.CLT=cut-DST.PST
'Shyam cut the tendu fruit in the bus.'

(29) *anilli ara-itɔile*

α=nilli ara=i=tɔil-e
CL 1=Nili CL 6=CL 5=roam around-COP
'Nili roams around.'

(30) *atʰire ɖileŋmo-bi ereŋkʰolam*

α=tʰire ɖileŋmo-bi ereŋ-kʰol-am
CL 1=child ball-ABS REFL-play-NPST
'The child is playing (with) a ball (all by himself).'

One often hears a sentence without the CLASS 1 proclitic *α-* and the ergative suffix *-e*. The Bo variety does not mark the case suffix *-e* after an agentive nominal (31, 32). Consider:

(31) *alico reŋi rafuekom*

α=lico reŋi ra=fue-k-om
CL 1=Lico rice CL 6=cook-FA-NPST
'Lico cooks rice.'

(32) *tajiotɔtɔɐc ɬauter rulek*

tajiotɔtɔɐc ɬau tɐr=rulek
Birds cloud/sky CL 2=glide
'The birds are gliding in the sky.'

(33) *ajoe ɲeleolebe*

α=jo-e ɲe-l e=eole be
CL 1=Jo-ERG 2.ABS-FA CL 5=see COP
'Joe sees/will see you.'

(34) *a-ram-e a-ravanek ɛrenceo*

α=ram-e α=ravan ek=ɛrence-o
CL 1=ram-ERG CL 1=ravan OBJ.CLT=fight-DST.PST
'Ram fought with Ravana.'

5.2.2.3 Object Marking

Since the language maintains an ERGATIVE-ABSOLUTIVE distinction, all direct object nouns marked by any of the case suffixes such as *-bi*, *-be*, *-e*, *-ø* are marked as ABS in the following sentences and elsewhere in the grammar.

- (35) *tʰu buruiŋbi eola*
 tʰu-ø buruiŋ-bi eola-ø
 1SG mountain-ABS see-PST
 'I saw the mountain.'

- (36) *ram meobi jiyom*
 ram meo-bi iji-om
 Ram mango-ABS eat-NPST
 'Ram is eating a mango.'

In a ditransitive construction this case suffix occurs twice but can also be dropped from one of the object nouns as in (38).

- (37) *ra-bi kona-bi tɕf-e*
 pig-ABS tendu-ABS give-IMP
 'Give the tendu fruit to the pig.'

- (38) *a-joe toŋ-e cota kʰidere ebe*
 a=joe-e toŋ e=co-ta kʰider-ø ebe-ø
 CL 1=JOE-ERG Tong CL 5=near-ABL coconut take-PST
 'Joe took coconut from Tong.'

The choice between object marking and non-marking is not free, but is determined by specificity. This was especially observed in discourse. If the object is overtly marked it specifies the object under consideration, if it is unmarked the object under consideration is interpreted as generic.

Another important fact worth noting is that there exists at times, an optionality between presence and absence of the absolutive marking *-bi* on nouns especially if there is an object proclitic or a body division verbal proclitic that attaches to the left of the verb in the same sentence. In sentence 39 the absolutive *-bi* is optional and can be dropped (40). While object marking in casal suffix form has become optional (as discussed above), in the speech of some speakers, obligatory attachment of the body class proclitic or object clitic to verbs that indicate the transitivity of the verb is not optional and is still an inherent and necessary part of the grammar. In Chapter 3 it was mentioned in §3.1.3 that some speakers

used both markings. Without the sufficient statistical survey of such uses one can not reach any conclusive judgment for this alternation. Refer to Chapter 9 on verbs for details.

- (39) *t^hu* *tɔŋbie* *rap^ho*
 t^hu *tɔŋ-bi* *e=rap^ho-ø*
 1SG tree-ABS CL 5=cut-PST
 'I cut the tree (the specific one).'

- (40) *o* *tɔŋ* *erap^ho*
 o *tɔŋ-ø* *e=rap^ho-ø*
 3SG tree CL 5=cut-PST
 'He cut a tree.' (some tree)

- (41) *amime* *refebe* *jikɔm*
 a-mimi-e refe-be iji-k-ɔm
 CL 1=mother-ERG food-ABS eat-FA-NPST
 'The mother is eating food.'

As noted earlier, in the case of subject marking with plurality in §5.2.2.1, plural objects marked by the =*n* enclitic do not take object marking *-bi*. However, the object is marked on the verbs with the proclitic *er=* which indicates that it is a transitive verb with an object noun. This is an interesting observation as it implies that case marking is indicated on verbs. Thus:

- (42) **^hire* *mɔco-n-bi* *er=p^huko-ø*
 child hen-PL-ABS CL 2=hit-PST
 'The child hit the hens.'

But

- (43) *t^hire* *mɔco-n-ø* *er=p^huko-ø*
 child hen-PL-(ABS) CL 2=hit-PST
 'The child hit the hens.'

And

- (44) *t^hire* *mɔco-bi* *er=p^huko-ø*
 child hen-ABS CL 2=hit-PST
 'The child hit the hen.'

Interestingly, if the plural enclitic, =*n*, is replaced by the fully lexicalised form, *nu* 'people', or if followed by the modifier, *cɔp^he* 'many', then the absolutive marker, *-bi*, can occur after the noun phrase. Consider:

- (45) *t^{hi}re mɔco cɔp^{he}-bi er=p^huko-ø*
 child hen-many-ABS CL 2=hit-PST
 ‘The child hit the hens.’

Or

- (46) *t^{hi}re mɔco-nu-bi er=p^huko-ø*
 child hen-people-ABS CL 2=hit-PST
 ‘The child hit the hens.’

This implies that (i) the absolutive *-bi* attaches to plain nouns which are stripped of any inflectional endings. (ii) In the case of a noun phrase with modification the absolutive case marker is suffixed to the whole noun phrase.

5.2.2.4 Dative

The dative marking is *-i* suffixed to pronouns, as in *t^{hi}* ‘to me’ or *ŋi* ‘to you’ as well as to proper nouns. Speakers have been observed dropping it in conversation as the meaning is ascertained by the context.

- (47) *t^{hi} mi^thaibi tɛfeke*
t^h-i mi^tha-i-bi tɛfe-k-e
 1SG-DAT sweet-ABS give-FA-IMP
 ‘Give me the sweets.’
- (48) *t^hut^{hi}re t^{hi} tɔk^hotɛcbi tɛfe*
t^h=ut=t^{hi}re t^hi tɔk^hotɛc-bi tɛf-e
 1SG=CL 4.POSS=child 1SG.DAT money-ABS give-IMP
 ‘Give me money for my child.’
- (49) *naye ci^thi-bi peje-i mok-e*
 2SG.H letter-ABS peje-DAT give-IMP
 ‘You give the letter to Peje.’

5.2.2.5 Instrumental

The instrumental case marker is *-ta ~ -te* suffixed to nouns of instrument and initiators in typical causative constructions. One of our speakers, Peje, used the form *te-*.

- (50) *lec tɔk^ho-ta eban-o*
lec tɔk^ho-ta e=ban-o
 arrow wood-INSTR CL 5=make-DST.PST
 ‘Arrow was made of wood.’

- (51) *tʰu bol-ta cokbi-bi i=tʰudo-ø*
 1SG bol-INSTR turtle-ABS CL 5=kill-PST
 'I killed the turtle with the help of a Bol-rope (used in turtle hunting).'
- (52) *roa-ta sʃret-ak tʰut= cone-b-o*
 boat-INSTR Strait-DIR 1SG.CL 4= go-FA-DST.PST
 'I went to Strait by boat.'
- (53) *atʰirenu ceuta konabit beliŋo*
 a-tʰire-nu ceut-a kona-bi it=beliŋ-o
 CL 1=child-PL knife-INSTR tendu-ABS OBJ=cut-DST.PST
 'The child cut the tendu (in pieces) with a knife.'
- (54) *ahanuman aramulibite lankabi ŋuiŋo*
 a=hanuman ara=em-ulibi-te lanka-bi ŋui-k-o
 CL 1=Hanuman CL 6=REFL-tail-INSTR lanka-ABS burn-FA-DST.PST
 'Hanuman burnt Lanka with his tail.'
- (55) *tʰu bolte etcobɔ*
 tʰu bol-te et=co-b-ɔ
 1SG rope-INSTR OBJ=tie-FA-DST.PST
 'I tied (it) with the rope.'
- (56) *inota tʰukʰube*
ino-ta tʰu-kʰu-be
 water-INSTR 1SG-drink-IMP
 'I will drink with water (the alcohol).'
- (57) *uroʃɣil nyotarateŋ nyotecta nyobi embanoma*
 uroʃɣ-il nyo-tara=teŋ nyo-tec-ta nyo-bi
 ancient-LOC house-CL 6=pole house-leaf-INSTR house-ABS
 em-bano-ma-ø
 REFL-make-HAB.PST
 'In ancient times, the houses were made of poles and leaves.'
- (58) *tʰu lecta tajiocorbi okʰo*
 tʰu lec-ta tajiocor-bi it=okʰo-ø
 1SG arrow-INSTR fish-ABS OBJ=kill-PST
 'I killed the fish with an arrow.'

There are no examples where both the instrumental *-ta* and the causative *ta=* are used in the same sentence. It is not very clear whether the suffix *-ta* or *-te* is instrumental or the causative proclitic to the verb 'cut' with the direct object has an incorporated nominal which is not very uncommon in the language. Refer to §9.6. Sentence (59) given below indicates the instrumental function while (60) expresses causative function.

- (59) *tʰu nata tɔŋe rapʰo*
 tʰu na-ta tɔŋ e=rapʰo-ø
 1SG people-INSTR Tree CL 5=cut-PST
 'I got the tree cut by the people.'

- (60) *tʰu na tɔŋ tae rapʰo*
 tʰu na tɔŋ ta=e=rapʰo-ø
 1SG people tree CAUS=CL 5=cut-PST
 'I got the tree cut by the people.'

They both have the same meaning.

5.2.2.6 Ablative

The ablative and instrumental are homophonous, i.e. *-ta* ~ *-te* suffixed to the noun which indicates the source of separation.

- (61) *kɔʔpʰɛcta ekambelemekom*
 kɔʔ-pʰɛc-ta ek=ambele-k-om
 soil-pot-ABL OBJ=overflow-FA-NPST
 '(Water) is overflowing from the clay-pot [pitcher].'

- (62) *tɔŋ-ta tɔkʰo-tɛc-bi botʰom/bɔrotʰe*
tɔŋ-ta tɔkʰo-tɛc-bi botʰ-om/bɔro-tʰ-e
 tree-ABL wood-leaf-ABS fall-NPST/blow-FA-COP
 'Tree-leaves are falling from the tree.'

- (63) *tʰu ocɔta itcavom*
 tʰu ocɔ-ta ut=cav-om
 1SG net-INSTR/ABL CL 4=spread-NPST
 'I throw the net (in the water).'
 (It is to be noted that no source is specified).

- (64) *tʰo portblɛrta tʰɛnobe*
 tʰo/u port-blɛr-ta tʰ=ɛ=ɛno-b-e
 1SG port blair-ABL 1SG=CL 5=come from-FA-NPST
 'I come from Port Blair.'

- (65) *aʔ lurota tole-bi elute*
 aʔ luro-ta tole-bi elut-e
 wood fire-ABL potato-ABS take out-IMP
 'Take the potato out of the fire.'

5.2.2.7 *Comitative*

The comitative morpheme is an adposition, *kɔc* or *bɔco* ~ *buce*, and is placed in between the two nouns that stand in a comitative relationship with each other.

- (66) *tʰu* *bɔco* *ŋu* *iji-b-om*
 1SG COM 2SG eat-FA-NPST
 'I will eat with you' ('we will have meals together')

- (67) *joe* *kɔc* *meo* *unni-b-o*
 Joe COM Meo return-FA-DST.PST
 'Joe came back (returned) with Meo.'

We noticed that most of the time speakers dropped the adposition as in (68–69). At times, the adposition was used after the two coordinated nouns (71). Thus:

- (68) *tʰo* *cao-ne* *ʃit-b-om*
 1SG dog-PL hunt-FA-NPST
 'I go hunting with dogs.'

Or

- (69) *a=cao-no* *tʰe* *tʰi-bi* *it=ɲyo*
 CL 1=dog-PL 1SG.ABS place(=live)-ABS CL 5=home/live
 'Dogs live with us.' (bi + ot > bit)

- (70) *rɛfe-bi* *bɔco* *cae-bi* *ji-o*
 rice-ABS COM what-ABS eat-DST.PST
 'What else did you eat with rice?'

- (71) *tʰu alok-e* *buce* *kalom/kalebom/kalekom*
 1SG-alok-ERG COM stroll.NPST
 'I am strolling with Alok.' (I and Alok are strolling together.)

Consider another sentence where the comitative meaning is expressed without the use of *kɔc*. It appears that class marking *a=* with the verb *ci* indicates comitativity. Again, the case is marked on verbs. Refer to Chapter 9 for details.

- (72) *tʰo* *ŋ=a-ci-b-om* *tʰo* *kele* *pʰo* *be*
 1SG 2SG=CL 1=go-FA-NPST 1SG stay NEG COP
 'I will come with you but will not stay back.'

5.2.2.8 Purposive/Benefactive

The postposition for the benefactive is *k^hudi* which also represents ‘purposive’ or ‘cause’ functions. These are underlined.

- (73) *mite k^hudi et=ŋolo-m*
 milk purposive OBJ=cry-NPST
 ‘(He) cries for milk.’
- (74) *dillikek cəy k^hudi ŋutcone-bom*
 dilli-kək cəy k^hudi ŋ=ut=cone-b-om
 Delhi-DIR what purposive 2SG=CL 4=go-FA-NPST
 ‘Why are you going to Delhi?’

The following sentence can be interpreted as showing a ‘cause and effect’ relationship.

- (75) *tək^huca:y k^hudi t^heren t^hica:y*
 tək^hu-cə:y k^hudi t^h=er=en t^h=i=cə:y
 talk-bad because 1SG=CL 2=REFL 1SG=CL 5=bad/mad
 ‘I became mad (rough) because this talk was bad (unacceptable).’

As in other case markings even this is no longer obligatory, and purposive meaning is interpreted through the context. Consider:

- (76) *t^hu k^hider-bi inci-k-om*
 1SG coconut-ABS go-FA-NPST
 ‘He goes for coconut.’

Also refer to §10.5.

5.2.2.9 Directional

The directional case suffixes combine with spatial deixis markers, which will be referred to in Chapter 8. However, we give here the most common directional suffix *-ak* that specifies the goal of an action. It is underlined in the following examples.

- (77) *t^hu t^himik^hu-ak t^h=ot=cəne-b-ɔm*
 1SG forest-DIR 1SG= CL 4=go-FA-NPST
 ‘I am going towards the forest.’
- (78) *stret-ak d^hun ot=cəne-k-ɔm*
 Strait-DIR 3PL CL 4=go-FA-NPST
 ‘They will go to Strait.’

- (79) $t^h=ambik^hir$ $stret-ak$ $t^h=ot=c\one-b-\mathfrak{om}$
 1SG= morning Strait-DIR 1SG=CL 4=go-FA-NPST
 'I will go to Strait tomorrow morning.'
- (80) t^hu $no-ak$ $uni-b-\mathfrak{om}$
 1SG house-DIR come-FA-NPST
 'I will return home.'
- (81) o $ro\mathfrak{a}-ta\ fare-a(k)$ $t^hut\ connom$
 o $ro\mathfrak{a}-ta$ $\mathfrak{fare}-ak$ $t^h=ut=conn-\mathfrak{om}$
 3SG boat-INSTR sea-DIR 1SG= CL 4=go-FA-NPST
 'He is going into the sea in a boat.'
- (82) $terk\mathfrak{o}-ot\mathfrak{o}$ $t\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{o}-ak$ $t^h=ut=c\one-b-\mathfrak{om}$
 Day after tomorrow beach-DIR 1SG=CL 4=go-FA-NPST
 'I am going to the beach the day after tomorrow.'
- (83) $terk\mathfrak{o}ot\mathfrak{o}$ $portbler-ak$ $t^h=u(t)=t^hu-\mathfrak{o}$
 Day before yesterday Port Blair-DIR 1SG=CL 4=reach-DST.PST
 'The day before yesterday I reached Port Blair.'
- (84) $k^hu\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{o}$ no $kotra-ak$ ci be
 PROX-LOC house inside-DIR come IMP
 'Here, come inside the house'
- (85) ηu $no-ak$ $\eta=ut=c\one-$ $b-\mathfrak{om}$
 2SG house-DIR 2SG=CL 4=go- FA-NPST
 'You are going towards home.'

5.2.2.10 Locational

The locative case is represented by *-al* ~ *-il* ~ *-el* ~ *-l* suffixed to specific location words designating space. They are also suffixed to nouns which specifically refer to the goal or source of the location. Some of these words, as can be seen from the following table, are constituted by two BODY CLASS markers.

Table 5.2. Locative forms

English gloss	Andamanese form	Morphology
On	$tut=ara:=l$	CL 4=CL 6=LOC
Inside	$k=ut=ara:=l$	OBJ=CL 4=CL 6=LOC
Under	$tum-bo-l$	REFL-heart-LOC
Near	$cu-l$	near-LOC
Away	$ta=cak^hu-l$	CL 1=platform-LOC
In front of	$ter=cok^he-l$	CL 2=face-LOC
Behind (lit. back)	$ut=b\mathfrak{o}-l$	CL 4=back-LOC

This consists of a combination of orientation marking words and locative case markings. A combination of two body class markers along with the locative suffix confirms the paradigm of a compound word as seen in Chapter 3 on word formation processes. Some examples are given below.

- (86) *kita:b t^hica tuttara:l jiyo*
 kita:b t^hica tuttara:l jiyo
 book table on-LOC be-EXIST
 'Book is on the table.'
- (87) *ʃup kuttara:-l mino be*
 basket inside-LOC potato COP
 'The potato is inside the basket.'
- (88) *o tɔŋ tumbol ara:ŋ kara:p i:t.talɛ*
 3SG tree under REFL waist OBJ.take rest
 'He takes rest under the shadow of a tree.'
- (89) *ɖu boa:-l aka uno-o*
 3SG.DIST.VIS floor-LOC 3SG sit-PST
 'He was sitting on the floor.'

The following sentences are without an overt copula, as in fast speech, speakers tend to drop it.

- (90) *e=cul jiyo k^hider*
 CL 5=near be-EXIST coconut
 'There is a coconut nearby.'
- (91) *er=ŋolka biu-ta cɔk^he-l jiu (be)*
 CL 2=matchbox candle-ABL face-LOC be/exist (COP)
 'Matchbox is away from the (front of) candle.'

In the following sentences, location markers such as 'in front of', 'behind', or 'at the back of', are placed in front of the entire phrase as an adjunct (92–94).

- (92) *ter=cɔk^he-l/tut-bɔ-l t^h=ut ŋyo tɔŋ jiyo*
 CL 1=face-LOC/CL 4=behind-LOC 1SG=CL 4=house tree exist
 'There is a tree in front of/behind my house.'
- (93) *boal t^haunobit jul ukut^huo*
 boa-l t^h=auno-bit jul uku t^hu-o
 ground-LOC 1SG=sit-NMLZ soon 3SG reach-DST.PST
 'I was about to sit on the ground when he came.'

- (94) *tʰimikʰu-l tɔilɔcɔŋ bi*
 tʰimikʰu-l tɔilɔcɔŋ bi
 forest-LOC deer COP
 'Deer are in the jungle.'
- (95) *tajiocɔr fare-l jiyo*
 tajiocɔr fare-l jiyo
 fish sea-LOC exist
 'Fish are in the sea'
- (96) *inobi tamrac kuttaral jiyo*
 ino-bi tamrac kuttaral jiyo
 water-ABS bucket inside-LOC exist
 'Water is in the bucket.'
- (97) *mara-tʰimikʰul aʃiu-no ŋa-tɛkʰok bɔ-pʰome*
 mara=tʰimikʰu-l aʃiu-no ŋa=tɛkʰok (i)k=bɔ pʰo-me
 1PL.INCL.CL 6.POSS= who-PL 2SG=CL 1=language OBJ=understand
 jungle-LOC NEG-HAB
 'Nobody in our jungle (village) knows your language.'
- (98) *du tajeocɔr dʒiul tapʰa:yəm*
 du tajeocɔr dʒiul ta=pʰa:e-om
 3SG.DIST.VIS fish sun-LOC CAUS=dry-NPST
 'She dries fish in the sun.'
- (99) *tʰe=cul ocɔ pʰo-be*
 1SG=CL 5=near net NEG-COP
 'I do not have a net.'
- (100) *mia kʰriŋkoʃo-il tʰi-bi ik=no-k-ɔm*
 1PL.EXCL Strait island-LOC place-ABS OBJ=live-FA-NPST
 'We live in Strait Island.'

With interrogatives and indefinite pronouns which are identical in form, i.e., *ca:y*, the locative suffix *-l* can follow the question word with metathesis of vowel and semivowel within the form (refer to §2.5.9). Thus *ca:y-l* is rendered as *cya:l* 'where.'

- (101) *cya:l no=t=no be*
 cya:l ŋ=ot=no be
 what-LOC 2SG-CL 4.POSS=house COP
 'Where is your house?'

- (102) *cya:l t^hoŋeolebo*
 cya-l t^ho.ŋ=eule-b-o
 what-LOC 1SG.2SG=see-FA-DST.PST
 ‘I have seen you somewhere.’

Location will be further discussed in §8.5 on spatial deixis.

5.2.2.11 *Genitive*

PGA is a double marking language: the inalienable possession markings are procliticised to the head noun, while alienable possession is represented by a dependent marking on the possessor noun. Possession has been widely discussed in Chapter 3 and Chapter 6. We should recall that there are in all, seven types of BODY CLASS MARKERS, serving the function of possession, which are attached to the head noun indicating mostly inherent relationships between the R and the D.

As we saw in Chapter 3 PGA also has dependent marked possessor nouns when dealing with the feature of alienable nouns. This implies that the language has both systems: head-marked and dependent-marked; the previous form is extensively used.

Forms that are not inalienable are marked by the GENITIVE suffixes *-ico* ~ *-ifo*, which are suffixed to the possessor. These suffixes, in a real sense, designate possessive relationships. Predictably, this is used only with the animate possessors. Since the items listed as inalienable or alienable are culture-specific, the Great Andamanese have their own listing of items as typical alienable nouns.² These follow the possessor nouns with the genitive *-ico* or *-ifo*.

- (103) *ɬu-ifo* *cɔkbi*
 3SG.DIST.VIS-GEN turtle
 ‘His turtle.’

- (104) *ɬun-ifo* *ko*
 3DU.DIST.VIS-GEN bow
 ‘Their bow.’

- (105) *t^h-ico* *boa*
 1SG-GEN land
 ‘My land.’

² Hence, words designating ‘land’, ‘jungle’, ‘upper garments’, ‘lower garments’, ‘dog’, ‘friend’, ‘God’, as well as some kinship terms such as ‘son’ and ‘daughter’ are considered alienable.

(106) $t^h\text{-ico}$ t^himik^hu
 1SG-GEN forest
 'My forest.'

(107) $t^h\text{-ico}$ a cao
 1SG-GEN ARG dog
 'My dog.'

(108) $t^h\text{-ico}$ jo
 1SG-GEN song
 'My song.'

(109) $t^h\text{-ico}$ $t\text{ɔ}to$
 1SG-GEN dress
 'My dress.'

5.2.2.12 Comparative

Our database does not contain many examples of comparison. The marker of comparison that sometimes appears is *-ta*, which is homophonous to the ablative or instrumental and is suffixed to the noun.

(110) $t^hut=t^hu$ $\underline{ta}\text{-i=p}^ho$ $t^h=a:ra=belo\text{-}$ $\underline{ta}\text{-i=p}^ho$ $t^h=erla\text{-b-om}$
 1SG.CL ABL-CL 1SG=CL ABL-CL 1SG=alone-FA-
 4=born 5=NEG 6=earlier 5=NEG NPST
 'There is no one either younger or older than me, I am alone.'
 Lit. 'No one was born later than me and no one is born earlier than me, I am alone.'

For further discussion on comparatives please refer to §10.7 in the chapter on syntax.

5.3 NOUN PHRASES

5.3.1 The General Structure

Noun phrases can be descriptive, possessive (alienable and inalienable), appositional, quantifying, and relativised. The structure of the noun phrase in PGA can be:

(S 5-1) PRO/CLASS=NOM (CASE MARKING) (CLASS=)ADJ (CASE MARKING)

That is, a modified noun precedes the modifier. If the noun is obligatorily marked by a body class marker then the following adjective is stripped of any class marker.

5.3.1.1 *Descriptive*

Adjectives follow the head. In a descriptive noun phrase case markings are suffixed to the modifier, i.e. to the whole NP (114) and not to the noun alone.

- (111) *no* *nɔl*
house good
'A good house.'
- (112) *p^hɔr* *lobuy-bi* *k^hulol* *jio*
Bamboo long-ABS there exist
'There is a long bamboo.'

Adjectives may also be used predicatively, as in (113) and (114).

- (113) *surmai* *ɛr=buɣoi*
Surmai CL 2=beautiful
'Surmai is beautiful.'
- (114) *qulo* *tɛr=k^hudoi*
moon CL 2=round
'round moon' / 'The moon is round.'

5.3.1.2 *Possessive*

Alienable

- (115) *u-iʃo* *koʃ^horemo*
3SG-GEN small bowl
'His bowl.'

Inalienable

- (116) *tʰa=a mimi*
1S=CL 1.POSS=mother
'My mother.'
- (117) *ŋ=ot=* *bo*
2S=CL 4.POSS= heart
'Your heart.'

- (118) *cao tot= kɔbo e=cay*
 dog CL 4.POSS= skin CL 5= bad
 ‘Dog’s bad/sick skin.’ or ‘Dog’s skin is not good.’

5.3.1.3 *Appositional*

An appositional phrase can be created when a non-finite verb followed by a relative marker modifies the following noun.

- (119) *toya (j)uk^{he} a=thire ta-beno*
 stand REL/SPEC CL 1=child APPL-sleep
 ‘The standing child (the one who was standing) had a sleep (went off to sleep).’

Details on *juk^{he}* can be found out in §4.1 as well as in §5.3.1.5 given below.

5.3.1.4 *Quantifiers*

As the language is in contact with Hindi we find parallel Hindi and PGA structures where the modifier precedes, as well as follows, the modified. The first sentence (120) is an exact Hindi translation, hence the use of the Hindi numeral *das* ‘ten’, as well as the use of Hindi word order. These kinds of constructions are becoming very popular in day-to-day speech.

- (120) *das tɔk^{ho}-tɛc-il*
 ten wood-leaf-LOC
 ‘In ten rupees.’
- (121) *a=kafa ontoplɔ*
 CL 1=girl one
 ‘One girl.’
- (122) [*kitab taterbui*]-bi *tob-o*
 [book two]-ABS steal-DST.PST
 ‘Two books were stolen.’

5.3.1.5 *Relativisation*

Relativised constructions follow two different word orders. The most common ones are those where the modified precedes the modifier (123), a participial phrase which is formed by adding an additional suffix, *-e*, indicating the state of the nominal in question (124). The other type of construction, where the order of modifier and modified is reversed, i.e., the modified noun follows the modifier, has arisen due to contact with Hindi (125).

- (123) *ra tara=ulibi ikto(t)-kata-e*
 Pig CL 6=tail OBJ=CL 4=cut apiece-STATE
 ‘Pig with a cut tail’ or ‘the pig whose tail was cut.’
- (124) *tɔŋ-to tɔŋ-bi unɖu-e ek=tɛɾtɔ-e*
 tree-ABL branch-ABS break-STATE OBJ=throw-IMP
 ‘Throw away the broken branch of a tree’ or
 ‘Throw away the branch broken from the tree.’

The relative marker *juk^he* is also used for specific reference of a nominal category. This type of construction parallels Hindi specifier *wala* (Abbi 2001). The following sentence is an exact morpheme-to-morpheme translation of the Hindi sentence *əcc^ha wala ləɾka mera beɾa he* ‘the boy who is good is my son.’

- (125) *nɔl juk^he toɾa t^h=ut=t^hire be*
 good REL boy 1SG=CL.POSS 4=child COP
 ‘The boy who is good is my son.’

Relativisation is dealt with in detail in §10.8.

5.3.2 Coordinated Noun Phrases

Two nouns are coordinated by the optional use of a conjunction *bo*. In fast speech this is dropped (127, 129, 130, 131).

- (126) *sare bo akajirabi tɛf-e*
 sare bo aka-jira-bi tɛf-e
 salt and pepper-ABS give-IMP
 ‘Give salt and pepper.’
- (127) *torɔm kajira cɔkbit^homo inol etɛf-e*
 torɔm kajira cɔkbi t^homo ino-l e=tɛf-e
 salt chili turtle flesh water-LOC CL 5=put in-IMP
 ‘Put salt, chili and turtle flesh in water.’
- (128) *lico bo bea kona-bi it=ji-o*
 Licho and Bea tendu-ABS OBJ=eat-DST.PST
 ‘Licho and Bea ate tendu fruit.’

When a coordinated subject is used with an intransitive verb, the conjunction is generally omitted.

- (129) *a=joe* *a=toŋ* *nyo-ak* *cone-b-om*
 CL 1=Jo CL 1=Tong house-DIR go-FA-NPST
 'Jo and Tong are going towards the house.'

The coordinated nouns can be marked for plurality by suffixing the plural marker to the second noun in the linear order.

- (130) *a=joe* *a=toŋ-nu* *taracɔr-e* *eole-inci-k-o*
 CL 1=Jo CL 1=Tong-PL spring-ABS see-go for-FA-DST.PST
 'Joe and Tong went to see the spring.'

The optional use of the conjunction can also be seen in phrases with a comitative reading. Thus:

- (131) *tʰo* *abhishek* *tʰi-bi* *no-m*
 1SG Abhishek place-ABS live-NPST
 'I live with Abhishek at the same place.'
- (132) *tʰ-ico* *kʰider tɔŋ* *er=kʰuro* *bɔe=tɛle* *pʰec* *be*
 1SG-GEN coconut tree CL 2=big and CL 5=thick very COP
 'My coconut tree is big and very thick.'

5.4 CONCLUSION

To summarise, PGA is highly agglutinative in nature. Other than the plural enclitic =*n*, the language displays a large variety of proclitics. There are many case suffixes or case relators which are multifunctional in nature. As we have noticed, the following case suffixes are multifunctional:

- be* Absolutive, hence marks the S, and O
- ta* Ablative, instrumental, comparative
- e* Ergative, accusative

The following multifunctional verbal suffixes and proclitics are homophonous to the nominal case suffixes. These are classic examples of 'versatile cases' (Aikhenvald 2008: 565–603).³

- be* ~ -*e* Completive, imperative, stative
- ta*= Applicative, causative

³ For the list of languages possessing this function see Aikhenvald (2008: 595).

PGA offers evidence for the gradual loss of a large number of case markers as there are alternating forms without any markings. The context of conversation decides the pragmatics and semantics of the sentence. The most interesting feature of PGA is that it denotes case relations on verbs by attaching proclitics to verb roots. This feature makes overt marking on nouns redundant. Please refer to Chapter 9.

CHAPTER SIX

POSSESSION

INTRODUCTION

Possessive constructions are the most intriguing and interesting in the present-day Great Andamanese language. The language has a wide variety of possessives quite unlike any other Indian language. The distinctions in various forms do not only depend upon the simple binary oppositions of alienability/inalienability, but also on various diverse ethno-semantic categories which define the relation between the possessor and the possessed nouns. Factors such as part-whole relationship, part-to-component, intimate/non-intimate relations, human/non-human relations, and the notion of possessum being part of the possessor, all play an important role in deciding the appropriate inalienability marker (INA). The INA marker that relates the possessor and the possessed is thus selected by the semantic categorisation of the two nouns that it relates to. The concept of inalienability and its grammaticalisation as possessive markers were dealt with briefly in §3.3. Readers are advised to refer to Chapter 3. We will discuss the formation of possessive constructions in the following sections.

We start with the basic two divisions of alienable vs. inalienable for lack of any other appropriate term describing such a variety of concepts that play a role in describing the relationship between the possessor (R) and the possessed (D) in the language, and then we will proceed further on the basis of the concept of inalienability as already defined in §3.3.

6.1 POSSESSIVE CLASSIFICATION

As discussed in Chapter 3, one major deciding criterion that determines the choice of a particular POSSESSIVE MARKER is the partonomy of the body. Under various possessive forms lies the semantic typology of categorisation of the human body parts and divisions.

This implies that no body part term can be rendered without a body division class marker. This unique feature of the language is the division itself within the body parts each being symbolised by a distinct class marker.

Inalienability in the languages of the world studied so far maintains a two-way distinction in dividing nouns into inalienable and alienable, the former comprising of one or all six areas mentioned in §3.3.3. PGA, as stated earlier, maintains seven divisions within the terminology of the body parts. It then further extends the notion of seven divisions (Table 6.1) to the rest of the terms, i.e. kinship terms, spatial relational terms, closely related object terms, and furthermore to attributes (human characteristics), objects, actions and states (denoted by verbs) with reference to the body. However, the biggest function of these markers is classificatory. In this function they are lexically determined by the D and result in distinct overt markings of possession.

The Great Andamanese perceive the following divisions of the body and symbolise each by a monosyllabic or disyllabic morpheme, a proclitic which is attached to the appropriate term for the body part, the head noun, D on its left.

We shall first describe the various possessive markings used for possessive constructions relating to body division/part terms and then the ones used for the kinship terms. These possessive markings are symbolised by body division class markers depicting inalienability. This will be followed by the processes to derive possessive constructions. Finally, we will discuss other nouns which take part in possessive constructions. While inter-glossing, we will be using the specific number of the BODY DIVISION POSSESSIVE CLASS MARKERS by an abbreviated symbol CL followed by the appropriate number so that readers can immediately associate the type or class of the grammatical category that is being discussed. Thus CL 2.POSS will mean possessive class marker 2 which has been derived from a particular body division term. We will optionally specify the morpho-syntactic function of this particular CLASS MARKER.

6.2 PRIMARY POSSESSION

PGA distinguishes between primary and secondary possession. The primary possessions refer to those which are derived from the basic seven divisions of the human body part terms.

The typical structure of a noun phrase with body part terminology is:

(S 6. 1) POSSESSOR PRONOMINAL CLITIC/NOUN_BODY DIVISION CLASS MARKER
_DEPENDENT NOUN

The structure can be abbreviated as:

(S 6.2) R = CLASS MARKER = D

An R is a possessor which, in this case, is a pronominal clitic or a proper noun followed by an appropriate possessive class marker attached to the dependent noun D, which can be a body division/part term or other inalienable noun. They have an additional function in the grammar and that is a CLASSIFICATORY one. The BODY DIVISION CLASS MARKERS classify nouns into various classes, each symbolised by a CLASS MARKER (CLASS) PROCLITIC. This is true of all obligatorily possessed nouns, even those which are not prototypical inalienable nouns. These are considered in §3.3 and in §3.4. Let us first consider the simple possession of various body parts.

- (1) $t^h=ot=bo$
 1SG=CL 4.POSS=back
 'My back.'

In (1) the first singular pronominal clitic $t^h=$ is followed by the appropriate class marker, viz. CLASS 4, $ot=$ which is selected by the body part term bo 'back.' The clitic is attached to the left of the possessed noun, i.e., $ot=bo$ and not to the possessor noun. However, as seen in Chapter 3, the pronominal clitic has the tendency to attract the possessive proclitic towards it and hence may appear as if it is attached to the possessor and forms one word (refer to §2.5.8 and §3.8 for details).

6.2.1 *Body Part Terms*

The body class markers, as stated earlier, perform the twin functions of (a) possession and (b) classification. Here, Table 3.1 is presented again as 6.1 for easy reference.

We shall now examine each POSSESSIVE CLASS MARKER defining the various body divisions which encompass several body parts. During the description we will make occasional mention of the kinship terms which are represented by the same CLASS MARKERS. One should recall that these class markers operate as proclitics, as described in Chapter 3. Most of the examples given below represent clitic sequencing.

Table 6.1. Seven basic zones in the partonomy of the body

Classes	Partonomy of the human body	BODY DIVISION CLASS MARKERS
1	mouth and its semantic extension	<i>a=</i>
2	major external body parts	<i>εr=</i>
3	extreme ends of the body like toes and fingernails	<i>oŋ=</i>
4	bodily products and part-whole relationship	<i>ut=</i>
5	organs inside the body	<i>e=</i>
6	parts designating round shape/sexual organs	<i>ara=</i>
7	parts for legs and related terms	<i>o= ~ ɔ=</i>

6.2.1.1 *Mouth Cavity* (a=)

When the possessed entity or D is the mouth and its extensions (e.g. ‘tongue’ and ‘throat’) as well as one of the primary kin relationships like ‘mother’, ‘father’, ‘grandmother’, ‘grandfather’, this proclitic is attached to the noun denoting a body part or kinship term.

- (2) *t^h=a=tat*
 1SG=CL 1.POSS=tongue
 ‘My tongue.’

- (3) *t^h=a=foŋ*
 1SG=CL 1.POSS=cavity
 ‘My mouth.’

- (4) *t^h=a=kεr*
 1SG=CL 1.POSS=throat
 ‘My throat.’

- (5) *t^h=a=may*
 1SG=CL 1.POSS=father
 ‘My father.’

- (6) *t^h=a=mimi*
 1SG-CL 1.POSS=mother
 ‘My mother.’

Table 6.2. presents some examples of the body part terms attached to *a=*.

Table 6.2. Body part terms with *a*= possessive class marker

Present-day Great Andamanese	English gloss	English translation
$t^h=a=p^ho\eta$	1SG=CLASS 1=cavity	My mouth
$t^h=a=t\varepsilon i\eta$	1SG=CLASS 1=liquid	My saliva
$t^h=a=p^hu p$	1SG=CLASS 1=excretion	My sputum
$t^h=a=lae$	1SG=CLASS 1=surface	My palate
$t^h=a=tat$	1SG=CLASS 1=tongue	My tongue
$t^h=a=ker$	1SG=CLASS 1=neck	My throat/neck
$t^h=a=c\text{ɔ}k^h\text{ɔ}$	1SG=CLASS 1=face	My area around face

6.2.1.2 *Major External Body Parts* ($\varepsilon r= \sim er=$)

A large number of bound nouns are included in this class and these designate major body parts that pertain to the ‘head’, ‘brain’, ‘neck’, ‘face’, ‘arms’, ‘thigh’, ‘calf’, ‘knee’ and ‘bones.’ Refer to Table 6.3. This class is also used with reference to certain kin relations such as ‘spouse’ (9).

- (7) $t^h=\varepsilon r=co$
 1SG=CL 2.POSS=head
 ‘My head.’
- (8) $t^h=\varepsilon r=t\text{ɔ}e$
 1SG=CL 2.POSS=bone (calf)
 ‘My bone.’
- (9) $t^h=\varepsilon r=boi$
 1SG=CL 2.POSS=spouse
 ‘My spouse.’

Table 6.3. gives noun forms attached with $\varepsilon r=$ or $er=$ class marker proclitic.

Table 6.3. Body part terms with $er=$, $\varepsilon r=$ possessive class marker

Present-day Great Andamanese	English gloss	English translation
$t^h=\varepsilon r=co$	1SG=CLASS 2=seed/head	My head
$t^h=er=k\text{ɔ}bo$	1SG=CLASS 2=skin	My scalp, skin
$t^h=er=mine$	1SG=CLASS 2=brain	My brain
$t^h=er=be\eta$	1SG=CLASS 2=forehead	My forehead
$t^h=er=buo$	1SG=CLASS 2=ear	My ear

Table 6.3 (*cont.*)

Present-day Great Andamanese	English gloss	English translation
$t^h=er=jili$	1SG=CLASS 2=flower	My area above eyebrow
$t^h=er=ulu$	1SG=CLASS 2=eye	My eyes
$t^h=er=k\omega t^ho$	1SG=CLASS 2=nose/trunk	My nose
$t^h=er=k\omega t^ho-t\omega:$	1SG=CLASS 2=nose-bone	My sinew
$t^h=er=tap$	1SG=CLASS 2=chin	My lower jaw/chin
$t^h=er=tap-b\epsilon c$	1SG=CLASS 2=chin-hair	My beard
$t^h=er=n\omega k^ho$	1SG=CLASS 2=cheeks	My cheeks
$t^h=er=p^hile$	1SG=CLASS 2=teeth	My teeth
$t^h=er=juk^hu$	1SG=CLASS 2=space above upper lip	My area between upper lip and nostrils
$t^h=er=boa$	1SG=CLASS 2=land	My lips
$t^h=er=k^hum$	1SG=CLASS 2=side	My shoulder's edge
$t^h=er=bala$	1SG=CLASS 2=arms	My arms
$t^h=er=k^hit$	1SG=CLASS 2=biceps	My biceps
$t^h=er=t\omega\eta$	1SG=CLASS 2=branch	My forearm
$t^h=er=me-tei$	1SG=CLASS 2=mother-liquid	My breast
$t^h=er=l\omega$	1SG=CLASS 2=mole	My mole
$t^h=er=layu$	1SG=CLASS 2=wrinkle	My wrinkle
$t^h=er=b\epsilon l\omega e$	1SG=CLASS 2=pimple	My pimple

6.2.1.3 *Extremities of the Body* ($u\eta= \sim o\eta=$)

When the possessed entity is any part of the hand or arm, e.g. 'finger', 'palm', 'wrist', 'nail', or other extremity, the class marker $u\eta= \sim o\eta= \sim \omega\eta=$ is attached to the D. This marker does not attach to any of the kin terms, as it is exclusively used for the parts of the body.

- (10) $t^h=\omega\eta=k\omega r\omega$
 1SG=CL 3.POSS=palm
 'My palm.'

- (11) $t^h=u\eta=ka:ra$
 1SG=CL 3.POSS=nails
 'My nails.'

- (12) $t^h=u\eta=kenap$
 1SG=CL 3.POSS=finger
 'My finger.'

Table 6.4 gives other noun forms with $u\eta=$ or $o\eta=$ body division class marker.

Table 6.4. Body part terms with *oŋ*= possessive class marker

Present-day Great Andamanese	English gloss	English translation
<i>t^h=oŋ=kenap</i>	1SG=CLASS 3=finger	My fingers
<i>t^h=oŋ=kara</i>	1SG=CLASS 3=nails	My nails
<i>t^h=oŋ=kɔrɔ</i>	1SG=CLASS 3=hand	My palm, hand
<i>t^h=oŋ=tɔ:</i>	1SG=CLASS 3=bone	My wrist bone
<i>t^h=oŋ=kenap-cɔk^hɔ</i>	1SG=CLASS 3=finger-face	My thumb
<i>t^h=oŋ=kɔrɔ-tot=bɔ</i>	1SG=CLASS 3=hand=CLASS 4=back	My back of the hand
<i>t^h=oŋ=p^hoŋ</i>	1SG=CLASS 3=cavity	My armpit

6.2.1.4 *External Body Products or Extension* (ɔt= ~ ut= ~ ot=)

This set of class markers attaches to the D for entities which include, (a) those that can be considered to show part-to-whole or part-to-component relationships, (b) the body parts forming the torso, such as the ‘chest’, ‘back’ and ‘heart’, (c) bodily products such as ‘hair’, ‘life’, ‘sweat’, and ‘breath’ and, (e) the kinship term for ‘child.’ It is interesting to note that while ‘child’ is considered inalienable, ‘daughter’ and ‘son’ are not.

- (13) *t^h=ut=bec*
 1SG=CL 4.POSS=hair
 ‘My hair.’
- (14) *ŋ=ut=k^hirme*
 2SG=CL 4.POSS=sweat
 ‘Your sweat.’
- (15) *lico ut=thire*
 Licho CL 4.POSS=child
 ‘Licho’s child.’
- (16) *t^h=ut=t^hi*
 1SG=CL 4.POSS=breath
 ‘My breath.’

Table 6.5 presents noun forms with class marker 4.

Table 6.5. Body part terms with *ot*=, *ɔt*=, *ut*= possessive class marker

Present Great Andamanese	English gloss	English translation
<i>tʰ=ot=bɛc</i>	1SG=CLASS 4=hair	My hair
<i>tʰ=ot=tɛŋ</i>	1SG=CLASS 4=branch	My nape of neck
<i>tʰ=ot=loŋɔ</i>	1SG=CLASS 4=lower part	My lower part of neck
<i>tʰ=ot=tɔ:</i>	1SG=CLASS 4=bone	My neck bone
<i>tʰ=ut=kʰum</i>	1SG=CLASS 4=shoulder	My shoulder
<i>tʰ=ot=bɔ</i>	1SG=CLASS 4=back/heart	My back (upper)
<i>tʰ=ot=car</i>	1SG=CLASS 4=chest	My chest
<i>tʰ=ot=kɔrno</i>	1SG=CLASS 4=lungs	My lungs
<i>tʰ=ut=bo-it=dello</i>	1SG=CLASS 4=heart-OBJ=ball	My heart
<i>tʰ=ot=co-to=bat</i>	1SG=CLASS 4=seed=CLASS 4=night	My nipple
<i>tʰ=ot=kɔbɔ</i>	1SG=CLASS 4=skin	My skin
<i>tʰ=ut=kʰirme</i>	1SG=CLASS 4=hot/heat	My sweat

6.2.1.5 *Internal organs* (e= ~ i-)

The body division class marker 5 attaches to terms which pertain to entities inside the body. These include: ‘blood’, ‘ribs’, ‘liver’, ‘covering around intestines’, ‘hip bone’, ‘belly/stomach’ and ‘bile.’ In other words, the concerned entities are invisible body parts, mostly inside the stomach and abdomen. However, words for ‘knee’ and ‘thigh’ are also expressed by this class marker, whereas ‘heart’ and ‘lungs’ belong to CLASS 4. Such anomalies are there and difficult to explain as the cognitive world of Great Andamanese and its perception that determines these classes are very different from ours. As the language is endangered and speakers are very few it was impossible to comprehend the world view of the community fully and comprehensively. Refer to Table 6.6.

- (17) *cao e=tei*
 Dog CL 5.POSS=blood
 ‘Dog’s blood.’
- (18) *tʰ=e=sudu*
 1SG=CL 5.POSS=intestine
 ‘My intestines.’
- (19) *tʰ=e=tequ*
 1SG=-CL 5.POSS=pancreas
 ‘My pancreas.’

Table 6.6. Body part terms with *e=*, *i=* possessive class marker

Present-day Great Andamanese	English gloss	English translation
<i>t^h=e=tei</i>	1SG=CLASS 5=liquid	My blood
<i>t^h=e=burɔŋo tɔ:</i>	1SG=CLASS 5=fruit-bone	My ribs
<i>t^h=e=p^hilu</i>	1SG=CLASS 5=belly	My stomach
<i>t^h=e=p^hilu-p^het</i>	1SG=CLASS 5=belly-big	My belly
<i>t^h=i=ŋet</i>	1SG=CLASS 5=breathe	My navel
<i>t^h=e=sudu</i>	1SG=CLASS 5=intestines	My intestines
<i>t^h=e=baene</i>	1SG=CLASS 5=covering	My covering around intestines
<i>t^h=e=bi-tɔlɔn</i>	1SG=CLASS 5=OBJ-flower	My kidney
<i>t^h=e=meca</i>	1SG=CLASS 5=liver	My liver
<i>t^h=e=teɖu</i>	1SG=CLASS 5=pancreas	My pancreas
<i>t^h=e=bucɔ</i>	1SG=CLASS 5=lap/mangrove	My lap
<i>t^h=e=cɔɔk^h</i>	1SG=CLASS 5=joint	My knee
<i>meŋe=i=fɔŋo</i>	1PL=CLASS 5=body	Our bodies

6.2.1.6 Nodular or Curved Structure (ara=, ra=)

These class markers of possession are placed before the possessed entity, which is a circular and curved structure, such as ‘cheeks’, ‘bladder’, ‘scrotum’, ‘heel’, etc. Surprisingly, the words for ‘knee’ or ‘head’ are not in this list. The terms for ‘sides’ or ‘curvature of the body’ may also be attached to this class marker. These class markers signify a type of a relational possession, and are also used for indicating younger sibling relations.

- (20) *t^h=ara=sulu-thu* *tɔʔa/kaʔa*
 1SG=CL 6.POSS=after-born boy/girl
 ‘My younger brother/sister.’

- (21) *ŋ=ara=karap*
 2SG=CL 6.POSS=rib cage
 ‘Your rib cage.’

- (22) *ŋ=ara=p^hu*
 2SG=CL 6.POSS=stool
 ‘Your stool.’

Table 6.7 provides some of the noun forms with *ara=* noun class marker 6.

Table 6.7. Body part terms with *ara=* possessive class marker

Present-day Great Andamanese	English gloss	English translation
$t^h=ara=tɔlb$	1SG=CLASS 6=flower	My large intestine
$t^h=ara=karap$	1SG=CLASS 6=lower back	My waist, lower back
$t^h=ara=t^hɔmo$	1SG=CLASS 6=fat/flesh	My buttocks
$t^h=ara=karap-t^homo$	1SG=CLASS 6=lower back-flesh	My groin
$t^h=ara=karap-jiriye$	1SG=CLASS 6=lower back-??	My pelvis
$t^h=ara=tɛt$	1SG=CLASS 6=anus	My anus
$t^h=ara=q̣iletmo$	1SG=CLASS 6=ball small	My bladder
$t^h=ara=q̣omo$	1SG=CLASS 6=testicles	My testicles
$t^h=ara=q̣omo-tot=kɔbɔ$	1SG=CLASS 6=testicles=CLASS 5=skin	My scrotum
$t^h=ara=ili$	1SG=CLASS 6=urine	My urine
<i>aka-ara=p^hu</i>	3SG-CLASS 6=excretion	His stool

6.2.1.7 Lower Parts of Body (o= ~ ɔ=)

The class marker 7 classifies those body parts which are visible and refers to lower parts of the body, such as 'leg', 'toe', 'sole', 'heel', etc. Refer to Table 6.8.

- (23) $t^h=o=mɔtɔ$
 1SG=CL 7.POSS=leg
 'My leg.'
- (24) $t^h=o=roŋo$
 1SG=CL 7.POSS=ankle
 'My ankle.'
- (25) $t^h=o=mɔtɔ-ṭo=mik^hu$
 1SG=CL 7.POSS=leg=CL 7.POSS=centre
 'My sole.'

Class marker 7 classifies relations such as *o=toni* 'son-in-law' or 'younger sister's husband.'

There are some anomalous class markings in the words for 'urine', 'stool' and 'pubic hair' which cannot be explained. Similarly, the word for 'armpit' could have belonged to class 6 marked by *ara=* or the word for 'lungs' could be marked by CL 5 *e=* to show internal organs. Or the words for 'knee' and 'head' could have been preceded by body division class marker reserved for 'curvature.' These are some of the unexplainable areas. These anomalies occur also because it is difficult to under-

Table 6.8. Body part terms with *o=*, *ɔ=* possessive class marker

Present-day Great Andamanese	English gloss	English translation
<i>t^h=ɔ=mɔʔɔ</i>	1SG=CLASS 7=leg	My leg
<i>t^h=ɔ=mɔʔɔ-tu=juk^hu</i>	1SG=CLASS 7=leg-CLASS 4=extension	My toe
<i>t^h=o=mɔʔɔ-to=mik^hu</i>	1SG=CLASS 7=leg-CLASS 4=centre	My sole
<i>t^h=o=mɔʔɔ-tara=dole</i>	1SG=CLASS 7=leg-CLASS 6=ball	My heel
<i>t^h=ɔ=mɔʔɔ-ʔɔ:</i>	1SG=CLASS 7=leg-bone	My bone below knee
<i>t^h=o=roŋo</i>	1SG=CLASS 7=ankle	My ankle
<i>t^h=o=ʔanno</i>	1SG=CLASS 7=semen	My semen

stand the clear-cut basis of the seven divisions. What is being presented here is based on limited field data as language is highly endangered and moribund. The nature of the language being a koiné has aggravated the problem. No speaker could explain the justification for such divisions. All we can say is that (1) there are, in general, seven primary divisions that help the Great Andamanese to conceptually perceive the human body and in turn, other associated relationships, and (2) it can be inferred from the forms given in these tables that the body part terminology in PGA represents the relationship of body parts to a ‘person’ or ‘self’ and not as a part-whole relationship. This is reflected in the majority of simplex morphemes.

In general, it can be argued that inalienable possession of anatomical terms is the basic semantic relation of this domain. The possessor in this context is the human being and not the body. Thus, ‘my leg’ or ‘his head’ are more readily elicitable expressions in PGA than say, ‘the leg is part of my body.’ In fact, this is the only way body parts in this language are expressed; the body parts are obligatorily ‘possessed.’

All of the primary body parts are possessed by the self and thereby have the obligatory pronominal clitic or a noun as the possessor. It can be argued in this light that there are certain body parts that are less salient than others and hence are treated as second order body parts (see §6.5). They derive their names either by means of descriptive terms or by juxtaposing two primary part names, whereas the primary body parts are primary lexemes used with a BODY DIVISION CLASS MARKER with reference to the possessor. The choice of the CLASS MARKER in the case of the first order body parts is semantic in nature and varies according to the perceptual division of the entire human body by the Great Andamanese. In this sense the clustering of body parts into divisions/areas of the body

and the consideration of each division/area as an inalienable entity is a culture-specific phenomenon.

The significant finding about the cognitive world of the Great Andamanese is that the Great Andamanese people hold the anthromorphic view of the world and thus relate the universe to the human body and its various divisions. The grammar of the language contains the duality of the system where there are concrete words for each body part in conjunction with the abstract symbols for divisions of human body that contain these parts.

6.2.2 *Is There a Hierarchy?*

All seven categories of body parts are directly possessed by a 'being' or the 'self.' Now the question is: should we classify all of them on the same level or consider them to be on varying levels of a hierarchy according to the frequency parameter? It is tempting to consider the latter option. A study made by Avtans (2006: 97) reports some interesting statistics about the frequency of use of these body class markers as given in Table 6.9. This implies that body class marker *er=* or *ɛr=* is most commonly used. This has guided us to frame the hierarchical scale of the various body division classes in the language.

The last two proclitics, *o=* and *oŋ=*, listed in Table 6.9, not only occur less frequently as far as references to the body part terms are concerned, but also, have a limited distribution across the lexicon of the language. The potential of these becoming grammaticalised is low when compared to the other five class markers. As we proceed, this fact will become clearer. Hence, on a hierarchical scale of frequency, *o=* and *oŋ=* occupy the lower ends of the scale.

We thus posit that there is a cline of grammaticalisation of the BODY DIVISION CLASS MARKERS in the language.

Table 6.9. Frequency of occurrence of body division class markers with body part terminology

Noun Class	Body division class markers	Frequency of use
CLASS 2	<i>er=, ɛr=</i>	36%
CLASS 5	<i>e=, i=</i>	17%
CLASS 4	<i>ot=, ɔt=, ut=</i>	13%
CLASS 6	<i>ara=</i>	12%
CLASS 1	<i>a=</i>	9%
CLASS 7	<i>o= ɔ=</i>	7%
CLASS 3	<i>oŋ=, uŋ=</i>	6%

6.3 KINSHIP TERMS

Only five out of the seven class markers are used to represent kinship terms. It is challenging to discover why only these are reserved for kinship terms while others are rejected. They are: *ut=*, *er=*, *a=*, *o=*, and *ara=*. An additional factor to be considered is that ‘higher (generation)’ kin are designated by ‘mouth cavity and related body parts.’

With the exception of the terms for ‘son’ and ‘daughter’, which are marked alienable genitive suffixes, all other terms are attached with inalienable markers¹ symbolised by body division class markers. While speakers were able to provide kinship terms through direct elicitation, they were not used in natural language. Elicitation of these terms was not easy and this explains the significant variation in the terms elicited from different speakers. Most, if not all of the speakers, use Hindi terms now. Table 6.10 presents a variety of class markers attached to terms for kinship relations.

Table 6.10. Kinship terms

Kinship terms	English gloss
<i>t^h=ico a=kaʔa</i>	My daughter
<i>t^h=ico a=ʔoʔa</i>	My son
<i>t^h=o=toni</i>	My son-in-law / younger sister’s husband
<i>t^h=ε=toa t^hu-e</i>	My elder sibling
<i>t^h=ɔt=toa t^hu-e-akaoi</i>	My elder sister
<i>t^h=ε=toa t^hu ʔoʔʔa</i>	My elder brother
<i>t^h=a=mai ra=tob</i>	Grandfather-like elderly person
<i>t^h=a=mai ka= t^h=a=mai</i>	Grandfather
<i>t^h=a=mai ka= t^h=a=mimi</i>	Grandmother
<i>aka=maya</i>	(someone’s) late (deceased) old person, used as a title
<i>ara=lep^ha ka</i>	Widow or widower
<i>t^h=e=bɔe ~ boi</i>	My wife or husband (spouse)
<i>korɔm olɛ bik</i>	Wife of the first man
<i>η=ara:=bɛ:loka</i>	Your wife’s younger brother
<i>η=a=mai exe</i>	Your wife’s father ‘father-in-law’
<i>η=a=mimi exe</i>	Your wife’s mother ‘mother-in-law’

¹ However, the nouns for ‘son’ and ‘daughter’ were marked by ‘possessive prefixes’ in the extinct South Andaman languages such as Âkà-Béa. Man (1923: 158–159) cites examples of kinship terms including the ones used for ‘son’ and ‘daughter’ that are preceded by possessive prefixes.

Table 6.10 (*cont.*)

Kinship terms	English gloss
<i>tʰ=ara=sulu tʰuo</i>	My younger sibling
<i>tʰ=ara=sulu tʰu tɔtta</i>	My younger brother
<i>tʰ=ara=sulu tʰu e=kata</i>	My younger sister
<i>tʰ=a=mai</i>	My father
<i>tʰ=a=mimi</i>	My mother

6.3.1 *Parallels Between the Body Part Terminology
and Kinship Terms*

Five body division class markers are used for kinship terminology that exhibit cognitive parallelism between the inalienable body divisions and a specific kinship relation terminology. Table 6.11 summarises this parallel relationship.

6.4 THE TWIN LEVELS

As mentioned in §3.3, as well as in the introduction to Chapter 6 possessives function at twin levels in PGA: the primary and the secondary. This merits some discussion. The primary ones are used with reference to the self, which denotes the major body parts and the main kinship terms. The secondary possessives are used for denoting those body parts that are derived from the major parts and those kinship terms that are descriptive, e.g. the ones used for siblings. In addition, they signify part-to-whole relationships between non-human nouns. Thus, the forms discussed in §6.5 below fall into the class of secondary possession. In a simplified way, one can state that the secondary divisions are added to the basic ones to represent the extension of the body parts discussed above. Thus, the language uses double markings to refer to words for

Table 6.11. Parallels between body parts and kinship terms

Class markers	Body parts	Kin terms
<i>ɛr=</i>	major body parts	spouse
<i>a=</i>	mouth cavity	parents
<i>ut=</i>	extensions of body parts/body products	child
<i>ara= + ut=</i>	nodular structure	younger/older siblings
<i>o=</i>	Lower body	son in law/husband of younger sister

‘eyelashes’, ‘tears’, etc. The kinship terms, perceived as being of a secondary nature, are similarly marked. We shall now discuss the formation of these constructions.

6.5 SECONDARY POSSESSION

The possessives function on twin levels in PGA (Som 2006), namely the primary and the secondary. Those with a primary level of function are used with reference to the ‘self’ and denote the major body divisions/ areas and the main kinship terms that were considered above. Those with a secondary level of possession are used for denoting those body parts that are extension of the major parts, e.g. ‘eyelashes’, and those kinship terms that are descriptive, e.g. the ones used for siblings. These are added to the basic ones. The language uses double markings to refer to words for ‘eyelashes’, ‘tears’, etc. and those kinship terms which are perceived as of a secondary nature. We shall now briefly discuss the formation of these constructions. It can be argued that there are certain body parts that are less salient than others and hence are treated as second order body parts. They derive their names either by means of descriptive terms or by juxtaposing two primary part names, whereas the primary body parts are primary lexemes used with an appropriate class marker with reference to the possessor.

In addition to attaching the various class markers to the possessed nouns, the language offers two more strategies to derive inalienable constructions: (1) compounding or juxtaposition of two nouns and, (2) syntactic derivation where a combination of more than two devices is used.

6.5.1 *Juxtaposition/Compounds*

The dependent and the head nouns are juxtaposed (in that order) to form a compound. However, it should be noted that the head and the dependent noun do not stand in a ‘possessive’ relationship, but a descriptive one where the dependent noun indicates the type of entity that is being referred to by the head noun. In the examples given below the second noun, i.e. the head, designates a generic entity while the first noun, which is a dependent noun, indicates the type or class to which the designated entity belongs.

	PGA	Literal translation
(26)	<i>cokbi t^homu</i>	turtle meat
(27)	<i>cokbi mulu</i>	turtle egg
(28)	<i>məcɔ mulu</i>	hen egg
(29)	<i>k^hidɛr tɔŋ</i>	coconut tree
(30)	<i>k^hidɛr ino</i>	coconut water
(31)	<i>tɔk^ho tei</i>	tree blood (gum)
(32)	<i>ra thire</i>	pig children (piglets)

It should be recalled that the ordering of the modifier and the modified in compounds is the reverse of the order in adjective phrases where the modifier follows the modified, i.e., the head. For example, *cokbi nɔl* ‘turtle good’ and *cokbi cae* ‘turtle bad.’ Since the genitive precedes the possessed noun in PGA (§3.1.2 and §6.7.1 below) and the order of the constituents in possessive constructions is dependent followed by head (§6.2 above), one cannot rule out the possibility that the typical structure of dependent and head nouns with intervening CLASS MARKERS gave way to juxtaposition or compounding in the order dependent-head while losing the class marker in this journey of evolution. Compounding devices appear to be used as a defining category rather than indicating the relationship of the possessor and the possessed.

6.5.2 Complex Structures

Non-basic body part terms are derived by several morphological processes. They are described below.

6.5.2.1 Lexical Compounding with Class Markers

This involves twin layers of possessive strategies, i.e. the first layer consists of the compounding of two terms for body parts. The second layer attaches the appropriate body division class marker along with the possessor pronominal clitic/noun to the compound noun.

- (33) [*t^h=ɛr=[tap bec]*]
 1SG=CL 2.POSS=[chin hair]
 ‘My beard.’
- (34) [*t^h=ɛr=[juk^hu bec]*]
 1SG=CL 2.POSS=[above upper lip hair]
 ‘My moustache.’

- (35) [$t^h=ara=[karap\ t\omega]$]
 1SG=CL 2.POSS=[waist bone]
 'My waist bone.'

This implies that the head of the possessive construction is the leftmost constituent of the compound (given in innermost brackets) because it governs the type of the appropriate class marker. It is *tap* 'chin' and *jukhu* 'the area above lip' that dictate the presence of the CLASS 2 $\varepsilon r=$ while the word *karap* 'waist' governs the occurrence of the CLASS 6 *ara=*. It is an interesting finding as the semantic head in these constructions is the rightmost nominal. Kinship terms such as 'father-in-law' or 'mother-in-law' are also formed by this process.

6.5.2.2 Double Marking and Clitic Sequencing

There appear to be two hierarchical levels of syntactic organization of the POSSESSIVE constructions. First, the primary body part is possessed by the self, where the self is the dependent noun and the specific body part is the head noun. Then at the second level of derivation, the same head noun, along with the previously dependent noun, functions as the dependent noun to which the secondary body part is added by means of a secondary POSSESSIVE MARKER. This secondary marker is a grammaticalised form of the word t^hu 'born of.' For instance, different parts and sub-parts of the eye are not simply juxtaposed to the term for 'eye', rather, the nouns in this category which are subordinate to the 'part' eye needs the obligatory use of the suffix $-t^hu$ which means literally 'born of' and has been grammaticalised to serve the function of possession. This has been symbolised in small capitals.

- | | | | |
|------|---|----------------|-----------------------|
| (36) | $t^h=\varepsilon r=ulu$
1SG=CL 2.POSS=eye
'My tears.' | t^hu
BORN | <i>ino</i>
water |
| (37) | $t^h=\varepsilon r=ulu$
1SG=CL 2.POSS=eye
'My eyelashes.' | t^hu
BORN | <i>bec</i>
hair |
| (38) | <i>lico</i> $\varepsilon r=ulu$
Lico CL 2.POSS=eye
'Licho's eyelids.' | t^hu
BORN | <i>bɔ:k</i>
behind |

6.5.2.3 Adverbial Function

Symmetric kinship relationships, such as those that represent sibling relations, are derived by using an adverbial phrase $ut=toa\ thu$ 'born before'

or *ara=sulu thu* 'born after', which describes the temporal relationship between the dependent noun, i.e. the possessor and the head noun, i.e. the possessed. Thus, the adverbial phrase 'boy born after me' signifies 'younger brother', while 'X born before me' signifies 'elder sibling.'

- (39) *t^h=ut=toa t^hu kaʔa*
 1SG=CL 4=before born girl
 'My elder sister.' (Literally: 'Before me born girl.')
- (40) *t^h=ara=sulu t^hu ʔaʔa*
 1SG=CL 6=after born boy
 'My younger brother.' (Literally: 'After me born boy.')

It is interesting to note that two different CLASS MARKERS (i.e., *ut=* and *ara=*) are chosen for designating elder and younger sibling relationships although both of them describe temporality.

A combination of double marking complex structures and adverbial use-constructions can be presented in a tabulated form. The lexeme *t^hu* is grammaticalised and serves as the second possessive marker, symbolised by small caps (BORN.POSS), the first being represented by the specific body division CLASS MARKER. Hence the construction here is:

- (S 6.3) R CLASS MARKER D BORN D
 [POSS I] [POSS II]

Table 6.12. Double marking and secondary possession

Double marking	Gloss
(41) <i>t^h=ut=toa thu ʔaʔa/kaʔa</i> 1SG=CL 4.POSS I before BORN.POSS II boy/girl	my elder brother/sister (the one born before me)
(42) <i>η=εr=ulu thu b:ɔk</i> 2SG=CL 2.POSS I =eye BORN.POSS II behind	your eyelids (the space born behind the eyes)
(43) <i>η=εr=ulu thu be:c</i> 2SG=CL 2.POSS I =eye BORN.POSS II hair	your eyelashes (hair born of eyes)
(44) <i>u=εr=ulu thu ino</i> 3SG=CL 2.POSS I =eye BORN.POSS II water	his tears (water born of eyes)
(45) <i>t^h=ara=sulu thu ʔaʔa/kaʔa</i> 1SG=CL 6.POSS I=after BORN.POSS II boy/girl	my younger brother/sister (the one born after me)

Secondary possession indicates that the leftmost nominal of body part terms determines the nature of the body class proclitic and is also the possessor of the second body part term which is an extension of the former in physical sense, e.g., ‘eyelid’ is an extension of ‘eye’ and ‘beard’ is an extension of ‘chin’ etc.

6.5.2.4 Double Class Markers

Double marking possessives can also be derived by employing two different CLASS MARKERS in the same NP, without using the adverbial phrase and the grammaticalised *-thu* ‘BORN.’ Consider the following where POSSESSIVE markings are progressively decided by the head noun. The structure can be represented as:

(S 6.4) R-POSS-D $\underbrace{\hspace{1.5cm}}$
R-POSS-D

That is:

(S 6.5) [[R [R POSS.1=D_R] POSS.2=D]]

- (46) $\eta=er=p^hile$ $tara=p^ho\eta$
2SG=CL 2=teeth CL 6=cavity
‘Your dental cavity.’
- (47) $t^h=er=ulu$ $tut=t\omega l\omega tmo$
1SG=CL 2=eye CL 4=white
‘The white of my eye (sclera).’
- (48) $t^h=er=jili$ $tot=b\epsilon c$
1SG=CL 2=bone above eye CL 4=hair
‘My eyebrows.’
- (49) $t^h=er=p^hile$ $tara=t^harale$
1SG=CL 2=teeth CL 6=ON (DEIXIS OF CONTACT)
‘My gums.’
- (50) $t^h=er=k\omega t^ho$ $tara=p^ho\eta$
1SG=CL 2=nose CL 6=cavities
‘My nostrils.’
- (51) $t^h=o=m\omega t\omega$ $tut=juk^hu$
1SG=CL 7=leg CL 4=end
‘My toes.’

For an explanation as to why the POSS *tut=* is used instead of *ut=*, or *tara=* is used instead of *ara=*, refer to §6.6.

6.5.2.5 *Summary*

To summarise the discussion so far, one can claim that there are twin levels of possession functioning in PGA: the primary and the secondary. The primary level is used with reference to the self, which denotes the divisions/areas of the body and the main kinship terms. The secondary level of possession is used for denoting those body parts that are derived from the major seven divisions/areas and those kinship terms that are relational in nature, e.g. the ones used for siblings. Cliticisation, juxtaposition/compounding and syntactic derivation are three processes that are employed in relating the possessor and the possessed nominals.

These different processes in combination with the seven BODY DIVISION CLASS MARKERS discussed above result in as many as twelve different forms of POSSESSIVES. These are selected on the basis of ethno-semantic divisions in the language. These are given in Table 6.15. Although some languages are known to offer multiple grammatical devices to designate body part terms (cf. Ndjebbana or Kunibidijig, a non-Pama-Nyungan language as described in McKay 1996), PGA appears to be unique in its own devices.

Despite the fact that there was a substantial amount of variation of forms noted among speakers, it was found that all speakers were consistent in using the body division class markers with body part terms and kinship terms. The available choice in class markers and their associated D (for example, I have no idea why ‘head’ and ‘arm’ are expressed by the same class marker) do not give a very coherent semantic and cognitive explanation as of yet. This could be because the system is very ancient and has acquired some irregularities over time. Or, as the language is a koiné as well as being of a ‘mixed’ nature, different language systems merged creating some inconsistencies. As mentioned in Chapter 1, speakers of PGA are drawn from mutually intelligible different speech varieties. Their common language, which is used as a lingua franca, bears traces of their respective pre-existing dialects.

6.6 ANIMATE VS. INANIMATE POSSESSOR AND THE SEMANTICS OF INALIENABILITY

6.6.1 *Inanimate*

As mentioned briefly in Chapter 3, the fundamental division of animacy plays an important role in deciding the phonetic shape of the base form

of the CLASS MARKER. If the possessor noun is inanimate, the class marker is prefixed by a dental consonant *t-*, otherwise with all animate possessors, both human and non-human, class markers begin with a vowel. Thus, possessive class markers *ara=*, *ot=*, etc., which are indicators of animate possessors, will be rendered as *tara=*, *tot=* respectively, if the possessors are inanimate beings. Thus, live animals and their body parts will be marked by a class marker without the initial *t-* sound as is the case with human body parts. However, when the part is cut and segregated from the body the associated marker will be prefixed with *t-*. This entails that an intact body part belongs to one particular CLASS and a detached one is treated differently, but still belongs to the same class. Consider the following in bold:

- (52) *ra ɛr=co* ‘pig’s head’ but *ra tɛr=co* ‘pig’s head’ [cut]
- (53) *moco ara=moʔ^{ho}* ‘hen’s leg’ but *moco tara=moʔ^{ho}* ‘chicken leg’ [cut]
- (54) *kɔɾɔij ot=car* ‘dugong’s chest’ but *kɔɾɔij tot=car* ‘chest of dugong’
[cut, or shown from a distance]
- (55) *k^heŋe ra=uli* ‘cat’s tail’ but *k^heŋe tara=uli* ‘cat’s tail’ [cut]
- (56) *ɛɛn e=meca* ‘deer’s intestines’ but *ɛɛn te=meca* ‘deer’s intestines’
[extracted]
- (57) *kɔɾɔij e=tei* ‘dugong’s blood’ but *kɔɾɔij te=tei* ‘dugong’s blood’
[extracted]

6.6.2 *Alienated but Inherent*

The concept of inalienability in PGA does not entail physical separation. While (58) expresses a body part separated from its source, (59) describes an intact body part. Both of them are attached with class marker 4 suggesting that the physical separation of the object belonging to the ‘inalienable’ noun category does not require the category of ‘alienable.’ Consider:

- (58) *cokbi* *tot=ʔ^homu*
turtle CL 4=flesh
‘turtle’s meat’ [cut-up for consumption]
- (59) *cokbi* *ot=ʔ^homu*
turtle CL 4=flesh
‘turtle’s meat’ [still on its body]

- (60) *cokbi t^homu*
 ‘turtle’s meat’ (compounding: modification by noun defining nature), (i.e.,
 used in a sentence that ‘he has gone for turtle meat’)

But not

<i>*cokbi-ico</i>	<i>t^homu</i>
turtle-GEN	flesh (alienable suffix)

Sentences such as ‘my turtle’s meat’ will use the compound form in (60) preceded by the first person possessor as in *t^h=ico cokbi t^homu*. Although grammatically correct, this form does not exist in the language. The author never observed anyone claiming ownership of food items or other consumables.

Why is it that despite being separated from the body the cut up part is still in the realm of inalienability and is not considered on a par with the alienated possession for which there is a separate marking *-ico ~ -ifō*? The answer to this question lies in the fact that the speakers realise the inherency of these parts being conceptually dependent on each other despite being separated. There is less conceptual distance between R and D and thus, more intimate bonding between the two is realised. This bonding is retained even after physical separation. Conceptual dependency is assigned by the prime factor of non-transferability. It is the inability to transfer the D to different Rs that makes these objects and parts inalienable. It is not possible to transfer body parts, affinal or non-affinal kinship, or the inherent attributes (as seen in §3.3) of an object or a person, even if they are transient and ephemeral. This is the reason that even after segregating the body part of animals as in the cases illustrated above it still retains the BODY DIVISION CLASS MARKER. As the discussion given in Chapter 9 on adjectives reveals, the inherent qualifications of a person or an object are signified by attaching a body division class marker to each of the modifiers following the possessor noun as in *kaba er=buŋoi a=kata* ‘Kaba is beautiful and short’ (CLASS 2 and CLASS 1). The objects that can be transferred or are expected to be transferred, such as goods in the market, household goods of a not very intimate nature, objects of the jungle such as trees, plants, creepers, and other objects of natural environment do not obligatorily take INA marker. These may be considered independent nouns.

In this context one cannot understand why the words for ‘daughter’ and ‘son’ in the language are considered ‘alienable’ and thus demands GENITIVE marker *-ico ~ -ifō* suffixed to the possessor while the word for ‘child’ takes the BODY DIVISION CLASS MARKER *ut=* which is added to its

left. The South Andaman language Âkà-Bêa, which became extinct in 1930 is attested with an *ut=* type of proclitic (Man 1875–1879) for ‘son’ and ‘daughter.’ The absence of a proclitic in PGA with these forms could have been the result of language change over time. The language is going through a period of very fast change in the context of contact with other Indian languages which are devoid of clitic type structures but exemplify structures with genitives for all kinds of possessions.

6.6.3 *Part-To-Whole or Part-To-Component*

Part-to-whole or parts of a component are expressed by a possessive morpheme symbolised by an appropriate CLASS MARKER, but with a prefix *t-* to indicate inanimacy. The same class markers as those used in classifying body part terms as seen in §6.5 above are used. One can establish a one-to-one correlation between the inanimate segregated parts of a body and the non-segregated parts of the object in question, as they are considered to be inherently and conceptually linked to each other.

- (61) *fɛc* *ta=p^hoŋ*
 vessel CL 1=cavity
 ‘The mouth of the vessel.’
- (62) *bun* *tɛr=p^hIr*
 shell CL 2=sharp edge
 ‘The sharp edge of a shell.’
- (63) *jicɛr* *tot=tɛk^ho*
 rain CL 4=sound
 ‘The sound of rain.’
- (64) *k^hidɛr* *tɛr=tɔŋ*
 coconut CL 2=branch
 ‘The branch of a coconut tree.’
- (65) *buruiŋ* *tɛr=p^heɬ*
 mountain CL 2=back
 ‘Behind the mountain.’

Thus each body division class marker can be used for objects and their various parts on the same paradigm as body and body parts. The analogy is very clear in examples like (63) where sound emission is considered equivalent to products of the body. The body products are symbolised by the *ut=* ~ *ot=* proclitic. The word for ‘sound’ takes the same clitic since

sounds ‘emerge’ or ‘are produced’ from some source, and hence is marked by *tot=*, or in (61), the mouth of a vessel and mouth of a human take the same class marker and in (65) ‘behind’ of a human body and ‘behind’ a mountain are marked by the same class marker.

As far as the analogy is concerned, there is no surprise that the hunter-gatherer society visualizes ‘tree’ as a body and its different parts as belonging to the tree as a whole. Consider Table 6.13, which provides the names of different parts of a tree each attached to an appropriate inalienable INA marker designated in body division class markers. It is to be noted that while describing the partonomy of a tree the word *təkʰo* ‘wood’ is used more often than the word *tɔŋ* ‘tree.’

Some analogical comparisons are interesting. Consider that the word *tɔŋ* which means ‘hand’ in PGA, but the same word is also used as a word for ‘tree’ and ‘branch.’ In a similar manner the word *tei* means blood as well as ‘gum’, and the word *kɔbɔ* means ‘skin’ but is also used to refer to ‘bark.’ Interestingly, these analogies are not unidirectional, since words from the semantic domains of plants and trees are also used to denote some animal body parts. For example *ɔɔ* means ‘flowers with fruits’ but can also be used to denote ‘tail’ of some animal as in *cao tara=ɔɔ* ‘dog’s tail’ and *teo tara=ɔɔ* ‘crocodile’s tail.’

6.6.4 Inalienable Possessed Nouns: A Conspectus

PGA, in short, maintains that the following types of nouns are prototypically inalienable and are thus obligatorily prefixed by a BODY DIVISION CLASS MARKER. Practically any part-to-component is represented by a

Table 6.13. Terms for the parts of a tree or a plant

Great Andamanese	English gloss	English translation
<i>tɔŋ</i>	Tree	tree
<i>təkʰo ter=tek</i>	Tree CLASS 2=wood	trunk of a tree
<i>təkʰo ta=bɛc</i>	Wood CLASS 1=hair	canopy of trees
<i>təkʰo tara=cɛtʰo</i>	Wood CLASS 6=root	root of a tree
<i>təkʰo tot=cɛ</i>	Wood CLASS 4=thorn	thorns of a tree or a plant
<i>təkʰɔ tɛc</i>	Wood leaf	leaf
<i>təkʰo tei</i>	Wood blood	gum
<i>tɔŋ e=ka=tʰire</i>	Tree CLASS 5=CLASS 1=child	saplings
<i>təkʰo ot=tɔŋ</i>	Wood CLASS 4=hands/tree	branch
<i>tɔŋ i=mikʰu</i>	Tree CLASS 5=middle	inside of a tree
<i>təkʰo et=kɔbɔ</i>	Wood OBJ=skin	bark of a tree

class marker as these are considered inalienable. Inalienability is thus, not measured on the semantics of ‘separation’ but on the basis of ‘inherency.’ Two nouns that are inherently related are considered to be conceptually dependent on each other and take any of the seven proclitics considered so far. Some examples are:

1. Kin terms, e.g. $t^h=a=$ *mimi* ‘my mother’ (exceptions are ‘son’ and ‘daughter’)
2. Body parts, body products, tattoo, body paint, e.g. $ut=t\text{ole}$ ‘tattoo’
3. Home, village, courtyard, e.g. $\eta=ot=no$ ‘your house’
4. Associatives such as language, words, names, clan, community, e.g. $\varepsilon=liu$ ‘his name’, $a=jirake$ ‘Jirake’
5. Ailments both physical and mental, e.g. $\varepsilon=e\text{t}\varepsilon\eta e$ ‘measles’
6. Boat, head gear, cap, covering for private parts made of leaves, clothes (in modern times) and boat, e.g. $\varepsilon=buke$ ‘my cap’
7. Spatial terms, e.g. $e=julue$ ‘in front of’
8. Parts of objects or parts of a component, e.g. $no\ tot=tara$ ‘roof of the house’
9. Seascape and landscape terms, e.g. $buruin\ ter=tek^h-il$ ‘in the middle of mountain’

A consolidated list of BODY DIVISION CLASS MARKERS used as possessive class markers to classify nouns is given in Table 6.14 and Figure 6.1.

Table 6.14. Possessive class markers defining primary possession and classes of nouns

BODY DIVISION CLASS MARKER PROCLITICS		Body parts	Kinship terms	Other objects	Types of classes	Semantic axioms
ANIMATE	INANIMATE					
$a= \sim at=$	$ta= \sim tat=$	tongue, mouth	mother father, grand parents	language, proper names	PRIMARY 1	MOUTH AND EXTENSION OF MOUTH
$\varepsilon r= \sim \varepsilon r=$	$t\varepsilon r=$	major body parts, head, calf etc.	spouse	side, near, name, above, cap, headgear	PRIMARY 2	EXTERNAL ORGANS, DEICTIC
$o\eta=$	$to\eta=$	fingers, nails	—	—	PRIMARY 3	EXTENSION OF HAND, EXTREMITIES

Table 6.14 (cont.)

BODY DIVISION CLASS MARKER PROCLITICS		Body parts	Kinship terms	Other objects	Types of classes	Semantic axioms
ANIMATE	INANIMATE					
<i>u= ~ut= ~ ot=</i>	<i>tu= ~ tut= ~ tot=</i>	chest, back, hair, sweat	child, brother	house, ailments	PRIMARY 4	EXTENSION OF SELF, PRODUCTS OF SELF
<i>e=</i>	<i>te=</i>	blood, pancreas, ailments	spouse	fever, leaf-covering	PRIMARY 5	INTERNAL ORGANS
<i>ara= ~ ra=</i>	<i>tara=</i>	waist, side and hip area and its extensions like tail	sister	village, boat	PRIMARY 6	DEICTIC, RELATIONAL, NODULATED, CIRCULAR
<i>o= ~ ɔ=</i>	<i>to= ~ tɔ=</i>	leg, heels, calf	—	—	PRIMARY 7	LOWER PART OF THE BODY

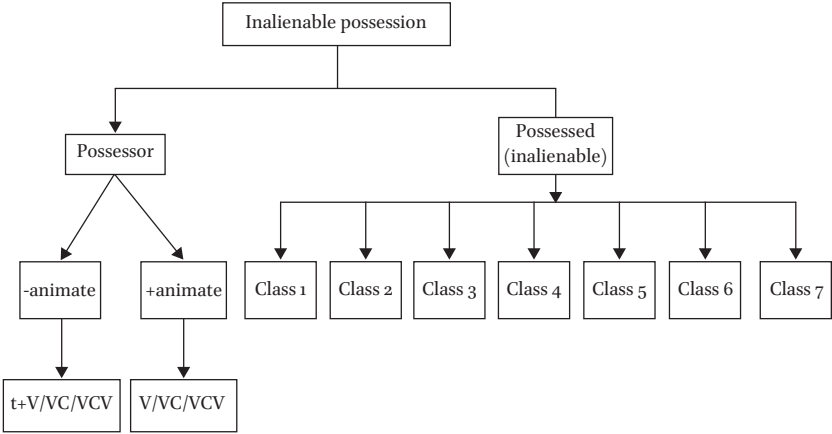


Figure 6.1. Body division classes and possession

6.7 ALIENABLE NOUNS

6.7.1 *Possessed Nouns*

Alienable possession in the language is designated by a GENITIVE morpheme which is suffixed to the possessor noun. This genitive has two allomorphs; *-ico* ~ *-iŋo*. These variations occur across speakers from different language backgrounds. For example, the Sare speaker always used *-ico* while the Khora speaker used *-iŋo*. Most of the typical alienable nouns designating 'land', 'jungle', 'upper garments', 'lower garments', 'dog', 'friend', 'God', as well as some kinship terms, such as 'son', and 'daughter' govern GENITIVE markers *-ico* or *-iŋo* which are suffixed to the possessor noun. The encoding of possession pertaining to alienable objects draws our attention to the fact that we find evidence of both head marking and dependent marking in PGA; the former for inalienable possession and the latter for alienable possession.

- (66) *nu iŋo julu*
 Nu GEN dress
 'Nu's dress.'

- (67) *n=iŋo ko*
 3PL=GEN bow
 'Their bow.'

- (68) *t^h=ico boa*
 1SG=GEN land
 'My land.'

Figure 6.2 summarises the word formation processes involved in possessive constructions in PGA. PGA is a rare language where the choice of a possessive marking is decided by both the possessor (R) and the possessed (D). In addition, alienable nouns are represented by genitives while the inalienable ones are represented by body division class marker proclitics. Hence, the language offers both dependent and non-dependent marking systems.

6.7.2 *Twelve Different Varieties*

To conclude, there are, in all, twelve different varieties of POSSESSIVE MARKERS which, except for one, function as PROCLITICS depending upon

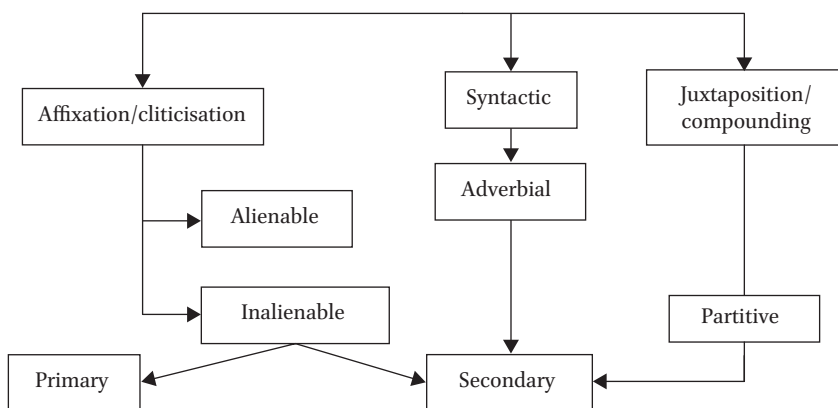


Figure 6.2. Word formation processes involved in possessive constructions

the semantic nature of the possessor, the possessed, the relation between the two, and the type of word formation processes. Out of these twelve, only one marker is used for alienable possession: the GENITIVE marker. The inanimate possessor represented by initial *t-* is considered the twelfth one which is demonstrated along with the forms used with animate possessor in Table 6.15. The rest are seen as variations of inalienable possessions. By taking into account a large inventory of nominal objects, it becomes eminently clear that the terms alienable versus inalienable are not very appropriate for the language under analysis. It should be understood as the phenomenon of ‘inherency.’ The large variety of possessive class markers as observed in PGA is unusual.

A summary of all the body division class markers serving as POSSESSIVE PROCLITICS, and GENITIVES is provided in Table 6.15. These categories are divided into two hierarchical levels, the primary and the secondary. The decision to categorise them as primary or secondary is based on their morphological shape. Monomorphemic constructions are primary possessions while those which use derivation or compounding are the secondary ones. Another reason to divide them into primary and secondary is the semantics of body parts. The secondary body part terms define part of a whole or a part of a component or a combination of two or three body parts.

Table 6.15. Varieties of possession

Number	Word formation type	POSSESSION and MORPHEMIC STRUCTURE	Semantic category & noun class	Hierarchical level
1	Clitics	<i>a= ~ ta=</i>	Inalienable 1	Primary
2	Clitics	<i>ɛr= ~ tɛr=</i>	Inalienable 2	Primary
3	Clitics	<i>oŋ= ~ toŋ=</i>	Inalienable 3	Primary
4	Clitics	<i>ut= ~ ot= ~ tut= ~ tot=</i>	Inalienable 4	Primary
5	Clitics	<i>e= ~ te=</i>	Inalienable 5	Primary
6	Clitics	<i>ara= ~ tara=</i>	Inalienable 6	Primary
7	Clitics	<i>o= ~ ɔ= ~ to= ~ tɔ=</i>	Inalienable 7	Primary
8	Affixation	<i>-ico ~ -ifo</i>	Alienable	Primary
9	Compounding	R_D	Inalienable	Secondary
10	Compounding with CLASS	CLASS MARKER=R_D	Inalienable	Secondary
11	Complex double marking	R_CLASS MARKER=ADV_BORN_D	Inalienable	Secondary

6.8 ATTRIBUTIVE MODIFICATION AND POSSESSION

The language considers all inherent and external attributes of a person or of an object as inalienable attributes modifying the head noun designated by an appropriate PROCLITIC, i.e. the BODY DIVISION CLASS MARKER. These are the internal structure of an NP which includes possession. Thus, words such as ‘boy’s courage’ or ‘courage of the boy’ express the possession of the attribute ‘courage’ (D) by the possessor ‘boy’ (R). Other than numerals and quantifiers, attributes of shape, size, colour and quality are attached by an appropriate CLASS MARKER representing the modified-modifier order. All such constructions imply modification and can be used both as an attributive modification and as a predicative modification because all adjectives can take the predicate slot as seen in Chapter 3. It must be noted that these are not prototypical possessor-possessed relationships or ownerships, but explicate inherent modification. These are considered separately in Chapter 8.

6.9 The “Possessive” Relationship: The ‘Have’ Construction

In PGA the morpheme *cul* ‘have’, ‘near’ functions as a transitive verb and thus the D is like an object noun following this morpheme. The construction is used only for the alienable possession and is in no way parallel to the English ‘have’ constructions which, in addition to marking possession of alienable goods, marks body ailments too, e.g., ‘I have a headache.’ The morpheme *cul* signifies proximity of the object to the possessor. The most interesting part is that this morpheme *cul* is itself preceded by a body division CLASS MARKER 2 *er*= ~ *er*= which is used for face-related and major body parts. There is another morpheme *cuo* with the same meaning but without the obligatory class marker morpheme. Consider a few examples.

- (69) *er=cul* *jiyo* *k^hider*
 CL 2=near be-EXIST coconut
 ‘(He) has a coconut.’ / ‘There is a coconut by his side.’

- (70) *a=boro* *cuo* *kider-bi* *jiyo*
 CL1=Boro have coconut-ABS EXIST
 ‘Boro has coconuts.’

- (71) *t^h=er=* *cuo* *kapra* *cop^he* *bi*
 1SG=CL 2= have clothes many COP
 ‘I have many clothes.’

- (72) *e(r)=cul* *o* *cɔ* *p^ho* *be*
 CL 2=have 3SG net NEG COP
 ‘(He) does not have a net.’ / ‘He does not possess a net.’

As said earlier, inalienable possession does not take ‘have’ *cul* ~ *cuo*. Consider the following sentence without *cul* ~ *cuo*.

- (73) *t^h=u(t)=tei* *tɛr=biraŋ* *be*
 1SG-CL 4=blood CL 2=red COP
 ‘My blood is red.’ / ‘I have red blood.’

The word *er/er=cuo-l* (CLASS 2 = ‘near’-LOC) can employ either the copula *bi* ~ *be* or the verb of ‘EXIST’ *jiyo*. In fast speech the locative suffix *-l* is often dropped.

6.10 CONCLUSION

To conclude, PGA provides seven basic possession types which are derived from the terms used for the seven divisions of the human body. These are termed BODY DIVISION CLASS MARKERS which are grammaticalised further to indicate possession of various inherently dependent objects, both physical and reified. The BODY DIVISION CLASS MARKERS are attached to the left of the dependent nouns. Hence, they are proclitics. Thus, the language has possessed entities as the head of the phrase which are marked by the possessive morpheme. PGA has provision for further extending these basic seven types by various word formation devices which indicate modification and part-to-whole or part-to-component dependency. NP internal possession can serve as the head or the object of a verb or as a complement of a phrase. The language is unique in the sense that both possessor noun as well as the possessed noun determine the choice of an appropriate possessive marker. PGA has only one true GENITIVE form which is suffixed to the possessor noun in alienable possession. This brings forth another unique feature of the language: it has dependent-marked head nouns in inalienable possession, as well as dependent-marked non-head nouns in alienable possession. In all, the language has twelve different varieties of possessions.

CHAPTER SEVEN

PRONOUNS, PRONOMINAL AND OBJECT CLITICS

7.1 PERSONAL PRONOUNS

7.1.1 *Person and Number*

PGA recognises three persons and three numbers, which is evident in the pronominal system of the language. The forms for first, second and third person have three numbers. The bare pronominal forms in the language are more elaborate than in the other two endangered languages of the Andaman Islands, i.e. Jarawa and Onge (Abbi 2006a). A distinction between inclusive and exclusive is maintained in the first person plural pronouns.

Consider the forms in Table 7.1. It should be noted that there are minor variations across speakers. Pronouns in PGA can occur in the bare form or can be cliticised as the subject or object of a verb. The cliticisation does not operate on dual and plural forms. This implies that dual and plural pronouns occur in full forms only. We will first consider the list of all these forms in Table 7.1 and will then give examples for each of the forms (1–15).

Table 7.1. Pronominal forms in PGA

PERSONAL PRONOUNS	
1SG. (speaker)	<i>t^hu</i>
1SG. (emphasis, 'I alone')	<i>t^hio</i>
1DU. (two speakers)	<i>t^hɛɲio</i>
1PL.EXCL. (addressee not included)	<i>ma ~ mio ~ mia</i>
1PL.INCL. (addressee(s) included)	<i>mej ~ mejamboro</i>
1PL.INCL. (emphasis)	<i>mejio</i>
2SG. (one addressee)	<i>ɲu</i>
2SG. (emphasis, 'you alone')	<i>ɲio</i>
2DU. (two addressees)	<i>ɲole</i>
2PL. (more than two addressees)	<i>ɲilie ~ ɲilio</i>
2SG.H. (one honorific addressee)	<i>naje</i>
2DU.H. (two honorific addressees)	<i>najela ~ ɲoli ~ ɲamboro</i>
2PL.H. (more than two honorific addressees)	<i>ɲale ~ ɲele</i>

Table 7.1 (*cont.*)

DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS	
3SG.DIS.VIS.	<i>di ~ qi</i>
3DU.DIS.VIS.	<i>quini</i>
3PL.DIS.VIS.	<i>qunio</i>
3SG.DIS.INVIS.	<i>qu ~ quio</i>
3PL.DIS.INVIS.	<i>qune</i>
3SG.PROX1 (nearer to the speaker)	<i>k^hidi</i>
3SG.PROX2 (nearer to the hearer)	<i>k^hudi</i>
3PL.PROX2 (nearer to the hearer)	<i>k^hudino ~ dia ~ diya</i>

The pronominal system of the language offers focused pronominal forms in addition to inclusive/exclusive distinction. Hence the distinction between *t^hu* and *t^hio* '1SG' is that the latter form carries additional emphasis or focus, something like English 'I alone and no one else.'

Secondly, the first person plural has two forms: exclusive and inclusive, demonstrating the presence or absence of the addressee. The 1PL.EXCL form *ma* denotes the speaker and at least two other individuals, neither of which is the hearer, whereas the 1PL.INCL forms *mej* or *mejamboro* are associative plurals which refer to the speaker and at least two other individuals, one of which is the addressee (generally kin members).

Thirdly, other than the visibility factor to play a role in deciding the demonstrative pronoun, it is the two levels of proximity which interplay with the decision of the appropriate third person proximate forms. Thus, proximate objects are distinguished between 'very close' which denotes references near to the speaker, PROX1 vs. 'intermediate' which is between 'distant' and 'proximate', which can be safely recognised as nearer to the addressee PROX2. Thus *k^hidi* refers to an object or a person which is very close, almost touching the speaker, but *k^hudi* is used for an object or a person which is proximate, visible, but closer to the hearer.

Sentences (1)–(7) exemplify first person pronouns.

- (1) *t^hio* *jero* *be*
 1SG.EMPH Jero COP
 'I (alone) am a Jero.'
- (2) *mejio* *mejut=cɔne-b-e*
 1PL.INCL.EMPH 1PL.INCL.CL 4=go-IMM.PST
 'We (inclusive) went.'

- (3) *mia* *k^hriŋkɔfo-il* *t^hi-bik* *ɲɔ-k-ɔm*
 1PL.EXCL Strait island-LOC place-ABS.OBJ live-FA-NPST
 'We (alone, only) live in the Strait Island.'
- (4) *ma* *jero* *be*
 1PL.EXCL jero COP
 'We (alone) are Jero.'
- (5) *mio* *t^hotarp^huc* *be*
 1PL.EXCL Andamanese COP
 'We (alone) are Andamanese.'
- (6) *meŋ-mam-bik^hir* *cɔkbi-bi* *ji-k-ɔ*
 1PL.INCL-REFL-morning turtle-ABS eat-FA-DST.PST
 'We (inclusive) ate turtle last morning.'
- (7) *meŋ-ot=bo* *et=dello*
 1PL.INCL-CL 4=back OBJ=ball (heart)
 'Our hearts.'

7.1.2 Second Person Pronouns and Honorifics

Honorifics are represented in the second person singular, dual and plural forms. Honorifics are indicated by the abbreviated small caps H. Sentences (8) to (10) exemplify second person honorific pronouns while sentences (11) to (15) exhibit varieties of other second person pronouns.

- (8) *ɲaye* *ɲam-bikhir* *cɔkbi-bi* *ji-k-ɔ*
 2SG.H REFL-morning turtle-ABS eat-FA-DST.PST
 'You ate turtle yesterday morning.'
- (9) *na:ɲe* *ɲu^thi* *lec-bi* *tesaŋ*
 2SG.H 2SG1SG.DAT arrow-ABS give
 'Sir, will you give me an arrow?'
- (10) *ɲoli* *ut=bucɔ*
 2DU.H CL 4=lap
 'Your (two of you) laps.'
- (11) *ɲu* *dunio* *ne-bofo-k-e*
 2SG 3PL.DIS.VIS 3PL-thrash-FA-IMP
 'You thrash them (nearer to the hearer).'
- (12) *ɲilio* *ɲalim-bikhir* *cɔkbi-bi* *ji-k-ɔ*
 2PL. 2PL.H.REFL-morning turtle-ABS eat-FA-DST.PST
 'You (PL) ate turtle last morning.'

- (13) *ɲole* *kʰringkɔʃo-il* *ʈʰi-bi-kɛɲo-k-ɔm*
 2DU. Strait Island-LOC place-ABS-OBJ=live-FA-NPST
 ‘You (two) live in Strait Island.’
- (14) *ɲilio* *ɲili-ʃɔ-m* *rɛʃe-be* *raʃue-k-ɔm*
 2PL. 2PL-GEN-REFL food-ABS cook-FA-NPST
 ‘You folks cook your own food.’
- (15) *ʈʰio* *ɲio* *ɲu* *ɲa=tɛkho-bik*
 1SG.EMPH 2SG.EMPH 2SG 2.CL 1=language-ABS.OBJ
bobi ɲon *ci-k-o*
 learn/know come-FA-DST.PST
 ‘I alone had come only to you to learn your language.’

7.2 DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

The defining properties of demonstrative pronouns in PGA are:

- (a) Demonstrative pronouns are not different from any other personal pronouns in forming the NP by themselves.
- (b) The co-referential property of demonstrative pronouns can be explained as such: they serve an anaphoric function whereby they substitute a full NP, the reference of which is made earlier in the discourse. The plurality of demonstrative pronouns such as *ɖunio* is co-represented in the temporal adverb ‘morning’ as a plural prefix *n-* (16) or the singularity of *ɖu* is co-represented in the temporal adverb for ‘morning’ as *aka-* (17) explicating its full NP structure.
- (c) As is true for many languages, the demonstrative pronouns in PGA can also occur with a noun in an NP (18, 19).
- (d) They offer spatial contrast with proximity and distance defined along parameters of the visibility and invisibility of the referent (16, 17) as well as the proximity between the speaker and the referent (20, 21 and 22).

- (16) *ɖunio* *n=ambikhir* *cɔkbi-bi* *ji-k-ɔ*
 3PL.DIS.VIS PL=morning turtle-ABS eat-FA-DST.PST
 ‘They ate turtle in the morning.’
- (17) *ɖu* *ak=ambikhir* *cɔkbi-bi* *ji-k-ɔ*
 3SG.DIS.INVIS 3SG=morning turtle-ABS eat-FA-DST.PST
 ‘He ate turtle in the morning.’

- (18) *du (t)=no* *buruin* *tot=bɔ-l* *no* *jio*
 3SG.DIS.INVIS(CL 4)=house mountain CL 4=behind-LOC house EXIST
 'That house is behind the mountain.'
- (19) *ɖune* *ra moʔe* *lobe*
 3PL.DIS.INVIS pig fat (<Hindi) EXIST
 'Those pigs are fat.'
- (20) *k^hudi-no* *cae* *bi* *caʔo-k-o*
 3PL.PROX2 what ABS do-FA-DST.PST
 'What were these (people) doing?'
- (21) *k^hidi* *t^h=ot=no* *be*
 3SG.PROX1 1SG=CL 4=house COP
 'This is my house.' (the speaker is in the house)
- (22) *k^hudi* *loka ot=no* *be*
 3SG.PROX2 Loka CL 4= house COP
 'This is Loka's house.' (pointing towards it)
- (23) *di* *kɔbɔ ot=no* *be*
 3SG.DIS.VIS Kobo CL 4=house COP
 'That is Kobo's house.'

Please refer to §8.5 for details on the spatial deictic functions of these demonstrative pronouns. Also refer to Table 8.12 on demonstrative pronouns in the next chapter.

7.3 PRONOMINAL CLITICS

First, second and third person singular pronouns can occur as reduced single consonant or vowel clitic forms. Different case markings can be attached to basic pronouns for an appropriate meaning only after they are cliticised. Thus,

- t^hu + i > t^hi* 'to me' (dative)
ɲu + e > ɲe 'you' (agentive)
ɖu + i > ɖi 'to him/her' (dative)

Prototypically, the cliticised forms with the case markings designate arguments in a sentence (24). There are restrictions in their occurrence as clitics:

- (a) Pronominal clitics are not attached to the absolutive *-bi*. However, case suffixes as agentive *-e*, accusative/dative *-i*, genitive *-ico/-ifo*, and ablative *-a* can be attached to the pronominal clitics.
- (b) It is the pronominal clitic which attracts the body class marker of the following verb or a noun and helps in generating a phonological word. For details see §2.5.8.
- (c) The second person plural form does not have a clitic form.

Cliticised forms of pronouns followed by various types of body class markers can be attached to a verb, adverb or a noun phrase (25). In other words, the pronominal clitics can combine with body class marking proclitics (a case of clitic sequencing and climbing as we saw earlier in §3.8.3). Conforming to the SOV type, the nominal and pronominal arguments or their clitic forms precede the verb as a subject and/or object of the verb. These are in bold in the examples given below.

- (24) *tʰi miṭʰaibi tɛʃeke*
 tʰ=i miṭʰai-bi tɛʃe-k-e
 1SG-DAT sweet-ABS give-FA-IMP
 ‘Give me the sweets.’
- (25) *roa-ta stret-ak tʰ=ut=cone-b-o*
 boat-INSTR Strait-DIR 1SG=CL 4=go-FA-DST.PST
 ‘I went to Strait by boat.’ (allative)

The following are the pronominal clitics in subject and object positions.

Some positional verbs such as ‘sit’ necessarily take the subject pronominal clitic, e.g. *tʰ=aono* ‘I sit.’ The first and second pronominal clitic forms given above can be attached to such verbs. However, the third person *u=* or *o=* is rendered as *aka=* (29, 31). This form also occurs if the object is of

Table 7.2. Pronominal clitics

Pronominal clitic	S and O functions
<i>tʰ=</i>	1SG
<i>m=</i>	1PL
<i>ŋ=</i>	2SG
<i>u=</i>	3SG.DIS.VIS
<i>o=</i>	3SG.DIS.INVIS
<i>n=</i>	3PL
<i>aka=</i>	3SG.OBJ OF POSSESSION/ANAPHORIC

inalienable possession, or has an anaphoric reference. Most of the names of the languages are preceded by the morpheme *aka* to indicate inalienability or inherent possession of one's language. Thus there are the names such as 'Aka-Bo', 'Aka-Kol', 'Aka Jeru', etc. for the languages Bo, Kol, and Jeru respectively. This practice of attaching *aka* to the language names is no longer used. The form *aka* can also occur as a pronominal object (27). Other examples of this form are (28, 29) and (31).

Instances of pronominal clitics can be presented as follows:

- (26) *maramlifu mutconne ɲutcone^ho*
 m=aram-lifu m=ut=cone ɲ=ut=conne-p^ho
 1PL.EXCL=REFL-all 1PL.EXCL=CL 4=go 2SG=CL 4=go-NEG
 'All of us will go but not you (you will not go).'
- (27) *o=ek=* *ak=aɲk^hui-ø*
 3SG.DIS.INVIS=3SG.OBJ= 3SG=embrace-PST
 'He embraced him.'
- (28) *t^hɛtɯjulul akaunobom*
 t^h=ɛ=tɯjulul aka auno-b-om
 1SG=CL 2=early/already 3SGsit-FA-NPST
 'He sat earlier than me/he was already sitting there.'
- (29) *meo bas stopil akanɕɔyil o malaiyo*
 meo bas stop-il aka-ɕɔy-il o malai-o
 Meo bus stop-LOC 3SG-stand-CONV 3SG tire-DST.PST
 'Meo was tired of standing (for a long time) at the bus stop.'
- (30) *t^hu* *t^h=aono-l* *t^h=olam-o*
 1SG 1SG=SIT-CONV 1SG=TIRE-DST.PST
 'I got tired sitting.'
- (31) *o* *ak(a)=aono-l* *o=olam-o*
 3SG.DIS.INVIS 3SG=sit-CONV 3SG.DIS.INVIS =tire-DST.PST
 'He got tired sitting.'

7.3.1 Human Arguments (Subject and Object)

Human arguments including proper nouns (32, 33) are preceded by the body division class 1. As we mentioned earlier in §5.2.1 this is primarily a feature of the Bo and Jeru languages. It was difficult to ascertain the semantic status of this marker as not all speakers used it. Those who did use it, considered it as a marker of specificity. Speakers like Boa Sr., the last speaker of the Bo language, never completed her sentences without

the use of *a* before all human subject and object nouns while others in the community thought it was optional to use it. It should be noted that proclitics never precede pronominals. Thus, **a=thu* is not possible. As seen in Chapter 3, the class 1 proclitic is grammaticalised for the semantics of ‘origin’, or ‘source.’ Interestingly, the class 1 proclitic is attached to nouns referring to domestic animals such as ‘dog’, hence *a=cao*.

- (32) *at^hirenu c^hurujbi ralifu ejju*
 a=t^hire-nu c^huruj-bi eralifu e=iji-o
 CL 1=child-PL sweet-ABS empty CL 5=eat-DST.PST
 ‘The children ate up all the sweets.’
- (33) *at^hirenu naramlifo bofobo*
 a=t^hire-nu n=ara.am-lifo bofo-b-o
 CL 1=child-PL 3PL=CL 6.REFL-sister beat-FA-DST.PST
 ‘The children beat their sisters.’
- (34) *a=ram-e a-ravan-ek εrenceo*
 a=ram-e a=ravan-ø ek=εrence-o
 CL 1=ram-ERG CL 1=ravan-ABS 3SG.OBJ =fight- DST.PST
 ‘Ram fought with Ravana.’
- (35) *a=boa a=nu ik=jira-ø tatorɛ-e it=fir-o*
 CL 1=Boa CL 1=Nu 3SG.OBJ-tell.CONV courtyard-ABS OBJ=wash-DST.PST
 ‘Boa told Nu to wash the courtyard.’
- (36) *mεjo k^hider-bi mεjo εt=bɔl-o*
 1PL.INCL coconut-ABS 1PL.INCL 3OBJ=peel-DST.PST
 ‘We alone, we all [inclusive] peeled the coconut.’

7.3.2 Object Clitics

7.3.2.1 Pronominal Objects

As mentioned earlier, the first, second and third person pronominal clitics more often than not appear as a single consonant or a vowel. These can appear in the second position in the sentence with dative, accusative or genitive case suffixes as object pronominal clitics. The second person plural is not cliticised, but the first and third person plural can appear in clitic forms as in *m=* and *n=* respectively. Consider

- (37) *ɲu me bofo-b-e*
 2SG 1PL.OBJ thrash-FA-IMP
 ‘You will thrash us.’

- (38) *t^hu* *ηele* *bofo-b-e*
 1SG 2PL.OBJ thrash-FA-IMP
 'I will thrash you people.'
- (39) *ηu* *qunio ne* *bofo-k-e*
 2SG 3PL 3PL.OBJ thrash-FA-IMP
 'You will thrash them.'
- (40) *u* *t^hi* *jira* *kɔil* *o au-b-om*
 3SG 1SG.DAT tell later 3SG come-FA-NPST
 'He told me that he will come tomorrow.'

7.3.2.2 Inanimate External Objects

Inanimate object clitics seem to be derived from the body division markers but substantial proof is lacking as the language is dying fast and many structures have become obsolete. Some of these clitics can be recognised as body division markers but not all are transparent. They show up as clitics attached to various verb forms in several shapes according to the shape or the quality of the object it represents and according to the nature of the verb it is attached to. These are: *uku=*, *kak=*, *εk=*, *ek=*, *ik=*, *it=*, *ut=*, *et=*, *i=*, *e=*, and *ε=*. Clitics such as *it=*, *et=*, *i=*, and *e=* can be speculated to derive from body class marker 5 representing 'inherency' or 'internal' to an object and similarly, *ut=* may have been derived from body class marker 4 to denote an object which is a result of emission. However, it is difficult to decide the source of other clitics.

Since every transitive verb in PGA is preceded by one of the several proclitics available in the language, the shape of each of these proclitics is decided by the semantic nature of the host verb. For example, the verb *beliŋ* 'cut' is preceded by the object clitic *iku=* ~ *ikku=* which signifies the resultative object of that action. Similarly, the verb 'to wash' *fir* is accompanied by an object which bears the impact of the action of 'washing', i.e., with class marker 5 which represents internalised objects. Hence 'wash' is a verb which shows an 'internalised' event while 'cut' is a resultative verb giving rise to a distinct entity. Both are accompanied by different object clitics. Another clitic *ik=* ~ *ek=* ~ *εk=* signifies the alienable direct object which can precede verbs of 'hunt', 'tell', 'fight with', 'catch fish', etc. It can be seen as 'evidential' too. Clitics thus can function as modals as well as manner (see below (a) 'various forms of 'cut'). It can be speculated that these are grammaticalised forms of lexical items which once existed in the language. For instance, in the following examples the presence of the clitic *ik=* signifies the successful catch and the absence of it signifies that

the hunters returned empty-handed. It is quite common to hear $\epsilon k=r\epsilon?$ with a rising tone to mean ‘did you get anything’ while hunting something in the forest. Consider the difference in meaning between (41) and (42).

- (41) *nu cokbi-lara-bi ik= uni*
 people turtle-hunt-ABS 3SG.OBJ= came back
 ‘People came back after hunting a turtle.’ (brought the hunt)

- (42) *nu cokbi-lara-bi ø-uni*
 people turtle-hunt-ABS came back
 ‘People came back after hunting turtle.’ (did not get one)

- (43) *nu taŋol ik=ao-ø*
 people catch fish 3SG.OBJ=came back-PST
 ‘Having caught fish people came back.’

- (44) *ŋu cokbibi ŋuekp^hoʔε*
 Nu cokbi-bi Nu ek=p^hoʔε
 2SG turtle-ABS 2SG 3OBJ=cut
 ‘You cut the turtle.’

Earlier in Chapter 3, we considered while discussing the transitive verb ‘cut’ that it can be preceded by various forms of the object clitic depending upon the motion of the action ‘cut’ as well as the object of the result of the action ‘cut.’ Hence, the same lexical unit *p^ho* ‘cut’ or *kata* ‘cut in chunks’ will have different resultative objects as well as a different manner of action. An equivalent English translation is sometimes long and sometimes requires different lexemes.

Adding these clitics to transitive verbs is indicative of the inalienable character in the way that the object of the verb and the manner in which the action is performed cannot be alienated from each other. Consider:

- (a) Various forms of ‘cut’
et=p^ho ‘cut or separate from the source’ (e.g., betel nut from a branch)
ara=p^ho ‘cut to make it fall on the ground’; ‘fell a tree’
ik=/ek=kata ‘cut a small piece’
okko=kata ‘cut a very small piece’
it=kata ‘cut a big piece’
εt=/ut=kata ‘cut a very big piece (something like 150 grams)’

7.3.2.3 Internalised Objects

We saw in Chapter 3 that if the object is internalised the body class marker *e-* or *i-* is used for invisible body parts or for those attributes which are

inherent qualities such as ‘to be bad’ or ‘to be good.’ This implies that the attributes of ‘good’ and ‘bad’ are internalised in a person. In addition, we saw in the case of intransitive experiential verbs (§3.5) that all of them are preceded by body class marker 5 symbolising the experience, emotions or feelings which are internal to the body. The impact verbs such as ‘wash’ considered above also are accompanied by this object clitic. In the following examples both the object noun ‘fever’ and the verb ‘to have fever’ take the object clitic $\varepsilon \sim i \sim e$ to signify an internalised object.

- (45) $t^h=\varepsilon=t\varepsilon$ $i=bi$
 1SG=CL 5=fever 3OBJ=COP
 ‘I have a fever.’ (i.e., 3OBJ $i-$ co-refers the noun $t\varepsilon$ ‘fever’)

The objects of ‘sing’, ‘embrace’ and ‘eat’ also share the same clitic.

7.3.3 Pronominal Clitics and Temporal Adverbs

An interesting feature of PGA is that first, second, and third person singular pronominal clitics can occur with words designating time, i.e., temporal adverbs as a co-reference to the personal pronominal subject. This has also been considered in Chapter 3 as well as in §7.2 above. Consider some more examples.

- (46) *asalma kambik^hir konabi jiyo*
 a-salma akaam-bik^hir kɔfo-bi iji-o
 CL 1-Salma 3SG REFL-morning banana-ABS eat-DST.PST
 ‘Salma ate a banana in the morning.’
- (47) *t^hambik^hir jaipure t^hutconne p^hobe*
 t^h=am-bik^hir jaipur-e t^h=ut=conne p^ho-be
 1SG=REFL-tomorrow Jaipur-ABS 1SG =CL 4=go NEG-COP
 ‘I will not go to Jaipur tomorrow.’
- (48) *ɲambik^hir alep^hai eolebo*
 ɲ=am-bik^hir a=lep^hai e=ol-(e)-b-o
 2SG=REFL-morning CL 1=Lephai CL 5=see-FA-DST.PST
 ‘You saw Lephai yesterday morning.’
- (49) *a-ʈoʈa akambik^hir tɛyotɛp^ho akambik^hir uemp^hilo/aka:le*
 a-ʈoʈa akaam-bik^hir tɛyotɛp^ho akaam-bik^hir u=aka:l-e
 CL 1=boy 3SG.REFL- fever.DST.PST 3SG REFL- 3SG=die-
 morning morning morning IMM.PST
 ‘The boy who had a fever yesterday died this morning.’

Also refer to Chapter §8.4.1. We can summarise the section on object clitics by saying that the third person object clitics come in varying forms depending on the size, shape, quality and location of the object nouns that result from the action. These clitics attach to various verbs on their left. In addition, they indicate the manner of an action. They attach to temporal adverbs to designate concepts such as ‘morning’, ‘evening’, etc. Clitics are important in order to fully comprehend the meaning of a verb in PGA.

7.4 INTERROGATIVE AND INDEFINITE PRONOUNS

In PGA the forms for the interrogative and the indefinite pronouns are the same in non-human contexts. The pronoun *cay* is used for both of these functions as seen in the following examples.

- (50) *das* *tɔkʰo-tɛc-il* *tʰu* *cay* *cɔkʰo-bi* *bul-e*
 ten (<Hindi) tree-leaf-LOC 1SG whatever all-ABS buy-IMM.PST
 ‘I bought what all (everything) in ten rupees.’

- (51) *ocay eryolom*
 o *cay* *eryol-om*
 3SG what write-NPST
 ‘He is writing something’ / ‘What is he writing?’

- (52) *dutno* *cay* *jukʰe*
 du (u)t=po ca:y *jukʰe*
 3SG CL 4=house what REL/SPEC
 ‘Which one is his house?’

- (53) *tʰu* *ca:y-bit* *kapom*
 tʰu ca:y-bi it=kap-om
 1SG what-ABS OBJ=touch-NPST
 ‘I am touching something.’

PGA has two basic interrogative pronouns: one is used for human referents, such as *aʃiu* and the other for non-human referents, i.e., *cay*. The former has two variants (used by different speakers) given in the following table. The latter is productively used for deriving all kinds of WH constructions. It should be noted that the interrogative pronouns can be combined with a demonstrative pronoun (55). Interestingly, the human interrogative pronoun *aʃiu* can be combined with the interrogative pronoun *cay* to give the

Table 7.3. Indefinite/Interrogative forms

	Human		Non-human	
Interrogative	<i>aʃiu ~ ʃo ~ aʃetani</i>	‘who’	<i>cay ~ ca:y</i>	‘what’
Indefinite	<i>caʃiu</i>	‘somebody’	<i>cay bit</i>	‘something’
Relativised	<i>ʃo juk^{hi}</i>	‘which one’	<i>cay juk^{hi}</i>	‘which one’
Purposive	<i>ʃo k^hudi</i>	‘which one’	<i>cay khudi</i>	‘for what’, ‘why’
Locative			<i>cayl ~ cya:l</i>	‘where’
Manner	<i>ʃetani</i>	‘how’	<i>ʃetani</i>	‘how’

indefinite form *caʃiu* ‘someone’ as in (57), or the interrogative inanimate *cay* can be combined with the quantifier *cop^{he}* ‘many’ to render the meaning of an indefinite plural entity (59). Also refer to §10.4 on interrogatives. Table 7.3 lists the various types of interrogative pronouns.

The human referent can be the ‘name of a person’ and not the person as such. For example,

- (54) *ŋ=er=liu* *aʃyu* *bi*
 2.SG=CL 2=name what COP
 ‘What is your name?’

Other examples of interrogative and indefinite pronominal references are:

- (55) *di* *aʃiu* *bi*
 3SG.DEM who COP
 ‘Who is he?’

- (56) *ɲyol aʃiup^{hu} bi*
ɲyo-l *aʃiu* *phu* *bi*
 home-LOC who NEG COP
 ‘No one is at home.’ or ‘Who is not at home?’

- (57) *acaʃiu itconebo*
a=ca-ʃiu *ut=cone-b-o*
 CL 1=what-someone CL 4=go-FA-DST.PST
 ‘Someone went away.’

- (58) *dillikek cay k^hudi ɲutconebo*
dilli-kek *cay* *k^hudi* *ɲ=ut=cone-b-om*
 Delhi-DIR what for 2SG=CL 4=go-FA-NPST
 ‘Why are you going to Delhi?’

- (59) *t^{hi}re=n cay cɔp^{he}*
 child=PL what many
 'How many children does he have?'
- (60) *t^{hu} cay-bit kaɲ-om*
 1SG what-ABS.OBJ touch-NPST
 'I will touch something.'
- (61) *acaɸiu nark^ha t^{hi}itɸuddilo ka:retta*
 acca-aɸiu nark^ha t^{hi}-t=ɸuddilo k-a:rett-a
 what-someone many land-CL 4=ball 3SG-tell-IMM.PST
 'Many people informed me about the island.'
- (62) *u cay-bi ta=biɲo-ø*
 3SG.what-ABS APPL=think-PST
 'What did he think/remember?' or 'He thought of something.'
- (63) *ɲ=ut= t^{hu} a=ɸiu bi*
 2SG=CL 4=born CL 1=what COP
 'Who is your brother?'
- (64) *ɲu cay ɟi it=kalemo*
 2SG why/what eat 3OBJ=soon
 'Why did you eat so fast?' or 'What did you eat so fast?'

7.5 REFLEXIVE FORMS

PGA has both nominal and verbal reflexives. The language has four different kinds of reflexive forms in the area of nominal reflexives. These are suffixed to the specific pronominal clitic. None of them designates number or person:

- (a) The form *-tuɲ* indicates a possessive relationship with human nouns indicating kinship and body parts (65–70);
- (b) Reflexive *-em ~ -ɛm* denotes specific identification with the subject or object (71–73) and is attached to verbal forms;
- (c) In addition to being suffixed to pronominal proclitics, alternatively, it can be suffixed to the GENITIVE morpheme *-iɸo ~ -ico* to show alienable reflexive possession (74–76);
- (d) Another form is *-encuo* which co-refers to the pronominal subject of the clause (82–86) to designate emphasis. The details are as follows.

Let us consider each of them in little detail.

(a) *-tuŋ ~ -tun*

The reflexive is attached to the pronominal form on its right. The presence of different pronominal forms does not bring any change in its shape. However, the pronoun is repeated once. Some examples are in order.

- (65) *t^hu* *t^hu-tuŋ* *t^hire*
 1SG 1SG-REFL children
 'My own children.'

- (66) *ŋu* *ŋo-tuŋ* *t^hire*
 2SG 2SG-REFL children
 'Your own children.'

- (67) *o* *u-tuŋ* *t^hire*
 3SG 3SG-REFL children
 'His own children.'

- (68) *nili* *ŋa=* *ŋo-tuŋ* *t^hire-bi* *εk~εt=rɔʃε-k-om*
 Nili 2SG.CL 1= 2SG- REFL children-ABS 3OBJ=love-CL=FA-NPST
 'Nili, you love your children.'

- (69) *t^hu tuŋ* *co-bi* *ŋao-co-θ*
 1SG SELF head-ABS scratch-head-PST
 'I scratched my head.'

- (70) *aka-mimi* *u-tun-t^hire* *ta-tɔp^h-om*
 3SG-mother 3SG-REFL-child CAUS-bathe-NPST
 'His/her mother is bathing her child.'

(b) *-εm-*

This reflexive form is very commonly used in narration, especially if the narration is in the first person. Instead of the simple first person pronoun, *t^hu*, speakers prefer to use *t^h=εm* to indicate 'I alone' or for emphasis with the English parallel 'It was I.' Thus, a phrase such as *t^h=εm-a=t^hudil* 'It was I who killed it' or 'I alone killed it' are the closest translations. This form also generates reflexive verbs (74). It is safe to say that in case of the reflexive *-εm-*, in addition to the meaning of 'self-directed', it can also mark 'emphasis.'

The reflexive morpheme, which co-refers to the subject pronoun is infixed between the PROCLITIC and its host which could be a verb root or a noun root (71, 71a). Thus, the verb 'laugh' is $\varepsilon r = k^h o l e$ but with the reflexive it is rendered as $\varepsilon r = \varepsilon m - k^h o l e > \varepsilon r \varepsilon m k^h o l e$ 'laugh', or the word for 'tail' is $a r a = u l i b i$ and with the reflexive the form is $a r a = \varepsilon m - u l i b i > a r \varepsilon m u l i b i$ 'his own tail.' Refer to §4.1 as well as §7.6 below.

- (71) $\eta = \varepsilon r = \varepsilon m$ $k^h o l e - l$
 2SG=CL 2=REFL laugh-NRR.PST
 'You were laughing', 'You were laughing to yourself.'

- (71a) *ahanuman aramulibite lankabi fui*

$a = \text{hanuman}$	$a r a = \varepsilon m - u l i b i - t e$	$l a n k a - b i$	$f u i - k - o$
CL 1=Hanuman	CL 6=REFL-tail-INSTR	lanka-ABS	burn-FA-DST.PST
'Hanuman burnt Lanka with his own tail.'			

- (72) $k^h u d i$ $\varepsilon = o l i - i k$ $\varepsilon r = \varepsilon m - c e - k - o m$
 3SG.PROX2 CL 5=see-OBJ CL 2=REFL=angry-FA-NPST
 'Look at her, she is angry (with herself).'

- (73) $\eta = \varepsilon m$ $m a t^h$ $b e$
 2SG=REFL run IMP
 'You go running.'

Reflexive morphemes such as $-\varepsilon m -$ generate reflexive verbs, where the action is self-directed, e.g. $\varepsilon m - b o e$ 'to marry', $\varepsilon m - e t^h o$ 'to recline', $\varepsilon m - b o r a c e$ 'get angry with oneself', etc. Also consider:

- (74) $t^h = a = (\varepsilon) m$ $e t^h - o m$
 1SG=CL 1=REFL recline-NPST
 'I am reclining.'

Reflexive forms also generate ambient verbs such as 'become cloudy' as in *erem-becom*, 'overflow' *embele*.

- (c) $-i f \bar{o} - m$

When the reflexive morpheme $-\varepsilon m -$ is suffixed to the GENITIVE indicating alienable possession, the initial vowel is dropped. Thus $-i f \bar{o} + -\varepsilon m - > -i f o m$.

- (75) *t^hu* *t^h=ifo-m* *julu*
 1SG 1SG-GEN-REFL shirt
 'My own shirt.'

- (76) *ne* *neʃe/o-m* *ko*
 2SG 2SG-GEN bow
 'Your own bow.'

- (77) *o* *ifo-m* *biuɛr*
 3SG 3SG-GEN candle
 'His own candle.'

(d) *-encuo*

This is derived from the combination of the reflexive morpheme *-em-* and the word *cuo* 'near.' The bilabial nasal *m* changes to a dental *n* when followed by non-labial consonant as in *cuo*. We are not clear about the semantic status of *cuo* which is obligatory when the action is self-directed. The morpheme *-encuo* can directly be suffixed to bare pronominals or pronominal clitics.

- (78) *t^h=encuo* *εt=kapo-m*
 1SG=REFL OBJ=work-NPST
 'Let us do the work ourselves.'

- (79) *ne=encuo* *εt=kapo-m*
 2SG=REFL OBJ.work-NPST
 'You do the work yourself.'

- (80) *t^hu-encuo* *rafue*
 1SG-REFL cook
 'I cook myself.'

- (81) *ne-encuo* *rafue*
 2SG-REFL cook
 'You cook by yourself.'

- (82) *ne-encuo* *ut=ferep*
 3PL-REFL CL 4=cut
 'They cut (it) themselves.'

7.6 RECIPROCAL PRONOUNS

Related to the forms given in (b) above, reciprocal forms are derived from the reflexive *-em-* by suffixing it to the appropriate proclitic dictated by the host verb. Hence, it is a lexicalised form of CLASS MARKER + REFLEXIVE, such as, *ara= + -em-*. The initial vowel of the reflexive form *-em-* is dropped if the preceding CLASS MARKER ends in a vowel. Consider (a)–(c) given below. This structure is not different from what we considered above in reflexive forms. It appears that the same form can designate both a reflexive and a reciprocal meaning. The structure of the reciprocal can be specified as:

(S 7.1) Pronominal proclitic_RECIPROCAL_V

- (a) *t^hu* *t^h=ara=m* 'I to myself' as in 'It is lonely here I talk to myself.'
 (b) *ŋu* *ŋ=ara=m* 'you with each other'
 (c) *o* *k=ara=m* 'he/she with each other'

The reciprocal form is prefixed to the verb. Consider:

- (83) *thire-bi* *(a)r=em* *ceo*
 child-ABS CL 2=REC fight
 'Children fight among themselves.' / 'Children fight with each other.'

The sentence given above has an alternate form with reciprocal *aram* if the host verb dictates different proclitic as in *ara=julo* 'slander':

- (84) *thire-bi* *karam* *julo*
 child-ABS 3SG.REC slander
 'Children are slandering with each other.' or
 'Children are involved in a slandering match with each other.'

We have a word in our database which translates as 'each other' and seems to be derived from the plural marker *ne* + OBJECT CLITIC *et=* and the reflexive pronoun *tuj*. Thus *ne + et + tuj > nettuj*. Consider the following:

- (85) *nettuj* *rofe* *t=em-boe*
 each other love OBJ=REFL-spouse
 'Man and woman love each other.'

7.7 LOCATIONAL ADVERBIAL DEMONSTRATIVES

These will be considered in detail in Chapter 8; however, some examples are cited here to show how these correlate with demonstrative pronouns.

- (86) *dʒi* *kʰudi-ɪfo* *boa* *be*
 3SG.DIS.VIS 3SG.PROX2-GEN land COP
 'That is his land.' (when the referent is near the hearer)
- (87) *kʰudi* *aka=tɔŋ-el* *tɔkʰo* *ter=kʰuro* *be*
 3SG.PROX2 3SG.GEN=courtyard-LOC tree CL 2=big COP
 'There is a big tree in his courtyard.'
- (88) *kʰidi* *cae* *be*
 3SG.PROX1 what COP
 'What is this?'

Local demonstratives can occur with a noun in an NP.

- (89) *kʰudi* *a-tɔʔa* *ɛ(r)=co* *ie* *be*
 3SG.PROX2 CL 1-boy CL 2=head pain COP
 'That boy has a headache.'

The first syllable in *kʰudi* or *kʰidi* can combine with the locative morpheme *-lel* to give the meaning of spatial adverbs, e.g. *kʰulol* 'there' and *kʰilel* 'here.'

- (90) *kʰi-el* *ci-b-e*
 3SG.PROX1-LOC come-FA-IMP
 'Come here to me.'
- (91) *kʰu-ol* *ŋ-ot=* *cɔne-b-e*
 3SG.PROX2-LOC 2SG=CL 4= go-FA-IMP
 '(You) Go there.'

CHAPTER EIGHT

MODIFICATION INCLUDING TEMPORAL AND SPATIAL DEIXIS

INTRODUCTION

We shall consider all types of modifiers in this chapter, namely, those that modify nominal categories and those that modify verbal categories. As far as deixis is concerned, we will only discuss here those words that occur independently of verbal morphology, but which modify an action, event or a state temporally or spatially. Thus we exclude from our discussion tense marking on verb forms, which are taken care of in Chapter 9 on verbs. This implies that currently we are concerned with the following:

- Adjectives
- Adverbs
- Temporal deixis
- Spatial deixis

Adjectives and adverbs have similar morpho-semantic features in the grammar, viz. they can be either dependently or independently marked, i.e., they are marked by the presence or absence of the BODY CLASS PROCLITICS as considered earlier in Table 3.2 in Chapter 3. Spatial deixis is defined as expressions which locate speech act participants in space while temporal deixis localises the speech event in time.

8.1 ADJECTIVES

8.1.1 *Characteristic Features*

The following are the characteristic features of adjectives in present-day Great Andamanese (PGA).

- (a) They can function as attributive modifiers of the preceding noun (1–6).
- (b) They can be derived from stative verbs used in a participial construction (7).
- (c) They can also function as predicates (9 and 10).

- (d) They include not only descriptive adjectives but also quantifiers and numbers such as 'only', 'some', 'single', 'many', 'first', 'third', etc. (8 and 11–16).
- (e) They can serve as the head of an intransitive predicate with an optional copula (18, 19).
- (f) They are never marked for number.
- (g) As mentioned earlier, they are marked for dependency by an appropriate body class marker proclitic. If two adjectives are conjoined they retain their respective proclitics (20).

8.1.2 The Semantic Content

The following are the kinds of adjectives used in the language. Some of the proclitics are omitted here because they may vary depending on the nature of the object the modifier is used for.

(1)	DIMENSION	<i>k^huro</i> 'big'; <i>εlea</i> 'small'
(2)	AGE	<i>cak^hamo</i> 'old'; <i>kɔlt</i> 'new'
(3)	VALUE	<i>nɔl</i> 'good'; <i>cae</i> 'bad'
(4)	COLOUR	<i>qirim</i> 'black'; <i>cεrel</i> 'green'
(5)	PHYSICAL PROPERTY	<i>tɛl</i> 'hard'; <i>k^hir</i> 'hot'; <i>εr=ulu-p^ho</i> 'blind'
(6)	HUMAN PROPENSITY	<i>aka=boi-tεrcek</i> 'kind'; <i>εr=bobiŋu</i> 'happy'
(7)	SPEED	<i>ercek</i> 'fast'; <i>ara=cae-caŋo</i> 'slow (in work)'
(8)	SIMILARITY	<i>teka</i> 'like'
(9)	QUALIFICATION	<i>εr=cop</i> 'correct'
(10)	QUANTIFICATION	<i>cɔp^he</i> 'many'
(11)	POSITION	<i>cul</i> 'near'; <i>tεmic</i> 'right'; <i>qulokara</i> 'west'
(12)	CARDINAL NUMBERS	<i>onŋplo</i> 'one', 'single'; <i>εr=tubui, nεtap^hul</i> 'two'

8.1.3 Attributive Adjectives

Let us first consider the attributive types. The quantifiers of various types also have an attributive function. Adjectives follow the nouns they modify.

- (1) *sita konap^huŋbi jiyum*
 sita kona-p^huŋ-bi iji-om
 Sita tendu-ripe-ABS eat-NPST
 'Sita is eating a ripe tendu fruit.'
- (2) *t^hu tajio εtcalo cɔp^he ji-k-o*
 1SG fish a lot enough eat-FA-DST.PST
 'I ate a lot of fish.'

- (3) *golat* *ɛr=ulu* *entplo* *nɔl* *p^{ho}* *be*
 Golat CL 2=eyes single good not COP
 ‘Golat’s one eye is not good.’
- (4) *p^{hertajido}* *ut=uŋ* *bo cay* *ik=aono*
 Phertajido CL 4=REFL heart bad 3SG=sit.PST
 ‘Phertajido sat down with a heavy heart.’
- (5) *u* *biu* *ut=calo* *ut=cɔŋ-o*
 3SG incense CL 4=heap CL 4=find-DST.PST
 ‘He found a heap (a lot of) of incense.’
- (6) *u* *i=k^huɖilo* *untplo* *i=ebi*
 3SG CL 5=tiny piece single CL 5=take.PST
 ‘He took a single small piece.’

As can be seen in example (1) the case marker (if any) is suffixed to the entire NP. Adjectival meaning is also expressed by the verb used in a participial construction indicating a stative situation, where it modifies the preceding noun. Consider the following sentence.

- (7) *aɔɔa* *ɛcɪk* *unɖuke* *untɛle*
a=ɔɔa *ɛc-ik* *unɖu-k-e* *untɛl-e*
 CL 1=boy arrow-ABS break-FA-STAT call-IMP
 ‘Call the boy who broke the arrow.’

These were considered earlier in §5.3.1.5.

Another common strategy is to use a relative marker *juk^{he}* ~ *uk^{he}* following the modified noun. For details on relativisation one should refer to §10.8. The relative marker *juk^{he}* is also used for specifying the entire NP as we saw in §5.3.1.5.

8.1.4 *Predicative Adjectives*

Adjectives including quantifiers can function as predicates. Consider:

- (8) *ɕɔŋ-el* *ɛr=tɛc* *tarakamo*
 tree-LOC CL 2=leaves many
 ‘There are many leaves in the tree.’
- (9) *loka* *ot=bo-tara=lam*
 Loka CL 4.POSS=heart-CL 6.POSS=valour/courage
 ‘Loka is courageous.’

- (10) *sulu-aram* *laʔ*
 Sulu-REFLX fear
 'Sulu is a coward.'
- (11) *ʔ^h=e=ʔɔŋ* *cɔp^he*
 1SG=CL 5=tree many
 'I have many trees.'
- (12) *ʔ^h=ut=* *t^hire-n* *nɛrtap^hul*
 1SG=CL 4= child-PL two
 'I have two children.'
- (13) *ʔ^h=ut=* *t^hire-n* *narakamu*
 1SG=CL 4 child-PL many
 'I have many children.'

The cardinal number 'one' can function as an indefinite entity or for expressing the quantity 'one.' PGA offers only the two numbers 1 and 2 morphologically. More than one is 'many.' However, ordinal 3 exists (15). Consider:

- (14) *t^hire* *ɛntɔplo* *aka=uno-ø*
 child one 3SG=sit-PST
 'One child sat down.'

The ordinals behave the same way as the cardinals, i.e., they follow the nouns they modify and can be used as predicates.

- (15) *no* *mɛxutta:wlu*
 house third
 'The third house.'
- (16) *k^hider* *tabɛco*
 coconut first
 'The first coconut.'

The predication can also be indicated by an optional copula *be* as in the following sentences.

- (17) *a=t^hire-nu* *ta=e=ole* *nol* *be*
 CL 1=child-PL TR=CL 5=see good COP
 'The children look good/well.'

- (18) *a=loka* *ara=kata* (*be*)
 CL 1=Loka CL 6=small (COP)
 ‘Loka is a dwarf/short.’
- (19) *loka* *ot=bo-tara=lam* (*be*)
 Loka CL 4=heart-CL 6=courage (COP)
 ‘Loka is courageous.’

Two modifiers can be coordinated by the conjunct *bo*.

- (20) *a=loka* *er=biyoi* *bo* *ara=kata*
 CL 1=Loka CL 2=fat CONJ CL 6=small
 ‘Loka is fat and short.’

8.1.5 Colour Terms

Unlike many hunter and gatherer societies, PGA is marked by the presence of several terms for colour. The community has added two colour terms recently (6 and 7) to their list of colours. The following colour terms, like any other modifier, are used post-nominally and can also serve as predicates. At present there are seven colour terms in the language.

1. *cɛrel* ‘green’, ‘blue’
2. *itbi* ‘yellow’
3. *bira* ‘red’
4. *qirim* ‘black’
5. *tɔl* ‘white’
6. *liɸiyu:w* ‘pink’
7. *co:p* ‘orange’ (derived from the name of the fruit)

As expected, they all are preceded by CLASS 5 if used for internal attributes or CLASS 4 if used for external attributes to describe a noun, e.g., *rae=i=qirim* ‘black pig’ and *ut=tɔle* ‘blossoming white, very white.’

8.2 DEPENDENCY OF MODIFIERS

8.2.1 Proclitics and Modification

The occurrence of modification by a combination of proclitics and modifiers in the language reinforces the fact that attribution explicates dependency between the modifier and the modified. As was discussed earlier in Chapter 3, this relationship between the modified and the modifier is

of an inherent nature or it designates possession of an internalised kind. Noun modifiers, e.g. adjectives, are preceded by the body class markers distinguishing seven classes of adjectives within the realm of inalienability. The following table gives the semantic range of the proclitics used with adjectives:

Table 8.1. Body division classes in adjectives

Class	Body class markers	Semantics	Examples
1	<i>a=</i>	mouth-related attribute	<i>a=mu</i> ‘dumb’, <i>a=tutlup</i> ‘greedy’
2	<i>εr= ~ er=</i>	external attribute	<i>εr=burjoi</i> ‘beautiful’, <i>εr=achil</i> ‘surprised’
3	<i>oη= ~ on=</i>	attributes related to limbs	<i>oη=karacay</i> ‘lame’, ‘handicapped’, <i>on=toplo</i> ‘alone’
4	<i>ut= ~ ot=</i>	negative attribute	<i>ot=lile</i> ‘decay’, <i>ot=lɔk^ho</i> ‘nude’
5	<i>e= ~ i= ~ ε=</i>	inherent attribute	<i>e=sare</i> ‘salty’, <i>ε=ben</i> ‘soft’
6	<i>ara=</i>	belly-related attribute	<i>ara=p^heŋk^hetɔ</i> ‘big bellied’, <i>ara=kaŋa</i> ‘stout/dwarf’
7	<i>o= ~ ɔ=</i>	attribute of shape and texture	<i>o=balon</i> ‘round’, <i>o=p^helana</i> ‘slippery’

The CLASS markers originally refer to a specific body division. In this function of modification these are grammaticalised to denote various kinds of attributes. However, as we saw in §3.7, the degree of grammaticalisation varied from one class to another. Any noun modified by these adjectives will have the following structure:

(S 8.1) N_CL=MOD

The examples given above indicate this structure.

Consider the following examples where adjectives are obligatorily preceded by various distinct CLASS MARKERS representing different meanings.

CLASS 1 *aka=, a=, ta=*
aka=tutlup ‘dumb’
aka=mu ‘greedy’
aka=lekɔ ‘dead’
aka=kel ‘miser’

<i>a=t^hie</i>	'heavy'
<i>aka=mu</i>	'dumb' (Bo)
<i>ta=iʃom</i>	'soft, slow'

CLASS 2	<i>ɛr=, tɛr=</i>
<i>er=ulu-to-p^hui</i>	'alive' (literally: flower of eyes)
<i>er=ceotarakamo</i>	'enraged, angry, mad'
<i>ɛr=buɲoi</i>	'beautiful'
<i>er=k^hurɔ</i>	'older than someone, elder, huge'
<i>er=biɲui</i>	'fat' (Bo)
<i>er=p^holkɔe</i>	'bigamous'
<i>ter=tɔ:lɔ</i>	'broken' (Bo)
<i>erɔsemɔ</i>	'delicious'
<i>er=boi</i>	'obedient'
<i>er=lobe</i>	'open'
<i>ɛr=cara</i>	'wood cut into small pieces'
<i>ɛr=buɲui</i>	'(be) happy'
<i>ɛr=tɔbo</i>	'blind' (Bo)
<i>er=alcabu</i>	'tongue tied'
<i>er=a=cil</i>	'surprised'
<i>er=ɲum</i>	'sleepy'

CLASS 3	<i>oŋ, toŋ, un=</i>
<i>un=tabol</i>	'naughty'
<i>on=toplo</i>	'all alone'
<i>un=teɲuc</i>	'alive'
<i>oŋ=karacay</i>	'lame', 'handicapped'
<i>tuŋ=kɛlo</i>	'all around'

CLASS 4	<i>ut=, ot=, tut=, tot=, u=</i>
<i>kata</i>	'a piece'
<i>ot=kata</i>	'a dwarf', 'a midget'
<i>ut=lile</i>	'deaf'
<i>ot=catɲa</i>	'adopted'
<i>ut=širo-cerel</i>	'bluish green colour of the sea'
<i>ut=cire</i>	'clean by washing'
<i>uj=jete < ut + jete</i>	'shy' (person)
<i>ut=k^hudun</i>	'heavy in uplifting'
<i>ut=belo</i>	'wide'
<i>ot=bata</i>	'short'
<i>ot=cɔ</i>	'right'
<i>ut=bo</i>	'reverse'
<i>ot=kobolo</i>	'bald person'

CLASS 5	<i>e=, te=, i=, ti=</i>
<i>ɛ=nol-p^ho</i>	'bad', 'not good'
<i>ɛ=kereɸ</i>	'bitter'
<i>e=qirim</i>	'black'

<i>e=kok^hela</i>	'blunt'
<i>i:=ople</i>	'full of light'
<i>e=p^huŋ</i>	'fully ripe'
<i>e=k^hui</i>	'hard'
<i>i=k^himil</i>	'hot'
<i>i=boe</i>	'boiled' (Bo)
<i>e=liu-sfɔŋɔ</i>	'brave' (Bo)
<i>et=to:ʈte</i>	'clean grass'
<i>e=ta-julu-e</i>	'cool it', 'cold' [resultative]
<i>e=cay</i>	'dirty', 'bad'
<i>e=ʈɔlɔʈ-mo</i>	'fair', 'white'
<i>i=belo</i>	'flat'
<i>i=let-amo</i>	'flat as in levelled' (Bo)
<i>ɛ=tɔk</i>	'frail' (Bo)
<i>i:=ople</i>	'full of light'
<i>e=p^huŋ</i>	'fully ripe'
<i>e=k^hui</i>	'hard'
<i>e=kɔʈɔbo</i>	'hollow'
<i>i=k^himil</i>	'hot'
<i>e=cɛʈʈɔk-totla</i>	'light brown colour'
<i>e=co-lobon</i>	'long headed', 'clever', 'intelligent'
<i>e=sare</i>	'salty'
<i>ɛ=lor</i>	'mixed taste' [salty-sweet-sour]
<i>e=p^hae-tec</i>	'dried leaves'

CLASS 6	<i>ara=, tara=</i>
<i>ara=tɔm</i>	'elderly', 'old' (Bo)
<i>ara=ka-ter-cek</i>	'lazy' (Bo)
<i>ara=kaʈa</i>	'short' (person)
<i>ara=beta</i>	'ancient'
<i>ara=p^het-<i>k^hetɔ</i></i>	'big-bellied person'
<i>ara=jio</i>	'be scared of something'

CLASS 7	<i>o=, ɔ=, to=, tɔ=</i>
<i>o=balon</i>	'round'
<i>o=laltoio</i>	'stagnant'
<i>o=cae-ca-ʈop^ho</i>	'useless'
<i>o=p^helapna</i>	'slippery'

Modification by possession can also be achieved with nouns serving as an R of the following adjective D with an intervening BODY CLASS marker. These were discussed in detail in Chapter 5.

We can safely claim that CLASS MARKERS have their own semantics which are carried over the grammatical category they are attached with. Consider the attribution of a dependent noun, such as an edge of some

sharp object. These nouns are obligatorily preceded by a proclitic signifying the type of modification.

Table 8.2. Edge and side of an object

<i>e=burɔŋo</i>	‘edge of the seashore’	[CL 5 = N]
<i>tʰi burɔŋo</i>	‘edge of the land surface’	[N N]
<i>ir=juxu</i>	‘edge of an arrow’	[CL 2 = N]
<i>e=traxo</i>	‘edge of a bow’	[CL 5 = N]
<i>ir=fide</i>	‘edge of a rudder’	[CL 2 = N]
<i>ir=file</i>	‘edge of a weapon’	[CL 2 = N]
<i>tot=təŋo</i>	‘edge, side’	[CL 4 = N]

8.2.2 Non-Dependent Modifiers

So far we have considered dependent modifiers, which are obligatorily attached to the proclitic. There are others which are not obligatorily preceded by a body division proclitic. One can speculate that during the evolution of the language the markers became lexicalised and hence, the presence of a class marker is no longer transparent in its morphemic break. Another hypothesis is that these proclitics were dropped from the language due to the language contact situation. However, the independent modifiers occur infrequently. Consider the following examples.

<i>intajionɔl</i>	‘tasty’
<i>lep^hai</i>	‘thirsty’
<i>p^hinli</i>	‘throbbing [as in pain]’
<i>bek^ha</i>	‘useless’
<i>eŋeɬ^he</i>	‘very dirty’
<i>etino</i>	‘wet’
<i>təŋtɔ</i>	‘lean, fatless’
<i>mo</i>	‘small’
<i>tec</i>	‘diminutive’
<i>ilp^he</i>	‘indifferent’
<i>totcyo</i>	‘very’

8.3 MANNER ADVERBS

Adverbs or modifiers of verbs can either precede or follow the verb. This is not an option with adjectives as the position of the latter is fixed in the language, i.e. post-nominal. The most common adverbs are those that describe an action, namely, manner adverbs. Others fall under the paradigm of

‘space’ and ‘time’ which are considered in §8.4 and 8.5. Adverbs of manner follow the verb and may fill the predicate slot. Alternately, they may precede the finite verb. They also have the potential to occur without a verb as the meaning of the word includes the meaning contained in the verbal category (24–26). Adverbs are underlined in the following examples.

- (21) *t^hiyo* *non^htok^ha nu-bi* *bo^hut-ø* *nol*
 1SG.EMPH Jarawa people-ABS hit.PST well
 ‘I bashed Jarawa well.’
- (22) *buro* *erents^hfu* *iji-k-om*
 Buro slowly eat-FA-NPST
 ‘Buro eats slowly.’
- (23) *t^hu* *ɲɔt-bit* *cɔk^ho-m*
 1SG swim-ABS.OBJ good/well-NPST
 ‘I can swim well.’
- (24) *o* *t^h=ɔɲ=tɔ* *ɛk=tɛrnin-o*
 3SG 1SG=CL 3.POSS=arm OBJ=hold tightly-DST.PST
 ‘He held my hand tightly.’
- (25) *o-* *t^h=ɛ* *tɛr=ninucoic-ø*
 3SG 1SG=DAT CL 2=embrace fiercely/hold tightly-PST
 ‘He embraced me fiercely.’
- (26) *enlia-k-om*
 (walk) slowly-FA-NPST
 ‘He walks slowly.’

Some of the manner adverbs are listed below. Proclitics are not attached to all of them. Where the words have proclitics they are shown by the symbol =. Some proclitics in manner adverbs are grammaticalised and hence it is difficult to segregate them from the root morpheme.

<i>ikaɲɔɔ-k-e</i>	‘completely’
<i>ɛren-cet^he</i>	‘angrily’
<i>eka=jira-cerel</i>	‘greedily’
<i>eren-ta=liu</i>	‘inadvertently’
<i>ɛr=ɔ=pili-p^hu</i>	‘incessant’
<i>nɔle</i>	‘properly’
<i>e=lia ~ a=lea</i>	‘slowly’
<i>ɛr=tɔko ~ ta=ɟom</i>	‘slowly’
<i>kalemo</i>	‘soon’; ‘fast’; ‘early’
<i>itt^haxe</i>	‘still’
<i>er=enta-lie</i>	‘unknowingly’

Except in a few instances, manner adverbs are not obligatorily attached to proclitics as they are mostly independent words.

Manner of an action can also be expressed by the nature of the proclitic attached to the verb root as it was observed in §3.3.3, §3.5, and §7.3.2.2.

8.4 TEMPORAL ADVERBS AND TEMPORAL DEIXIS

8.4.1 *Subjecthood and Temporal Adverbs*

We considered in the previous chapter in §7.3.3 that a major feature of temporal adverbs designating ‘morning’ and ‘evening’ is that they are preceded by the pronominal proclitic co-referring to the subject, a rare phenomenon in the linguistic literature. Thus, *ambikhir* ‘morning’, ‘day’ has the following forms depending upon whether the subject of the sentence is the first, second or third person singular pronoun.

- (i) $t^h=ambikhir$ ‘tomorrow’ (spoken by the speaker referring to himself as a participant of the action)
- (ii) $\eta=ambikhir$ ‘tomorrow’ (spoken by the speaker to the addressee)
- (iii) $ak=ambikhir$ ‘tomorrow’ (spoken by the speaker for a person other than the addressee)

Another feature worth noting is that the word for morning refers to ‘yesterday’ as well as to ‘tomorrow.’ It is the tense marking on the verb that clarifies the meaning. The word *ambikhir* appears to be the lexicalised form of the ‘reflexive pronoun’ + ‘morning’, i.e. *am* + *bik^hir*. Refer to §7.5.

- (a) $t^h=ambikhir$ 1SG-‘morning, day’
- (b) $\eta=ambikhir$ 2SG-‘morning, day’
- (c) $aka=ambikhir$ 3SG-‘morning, day’

but

- (d) $*nu=ambikhir$ 3PL-‘morning, day’

- (27) $t^h=ambikhir$ *jaipur-e* $t^h=ut=c\acute{o}ne-p^ho$ *be*
 1SG-morning Jaipur-ABS 1SG=CL 4=leave-NEG COP
 ‘I will not leave for Jaipur tomorrow.’

- (28) $a=sulu$ $aka=ambikhir$ *stret-ak* $ot=c\acute{o}ne b-\grave{o}$
 CL 1=Sulu 3SG=morning strait-DIR CL 4=leave-FA-DST.PST
 ‘Sulu left for Strait yesterday.’

The time before the 'present' or after the 'past' is expressed by affixing the words for 'before' and 'later' to the word *ambikhir*. In forming the words for 'the day before yesterday' or 'the day after tomorrow' the construction is very transparent. Consider:

- (29) *tara=sulu-t^h=ambikhir*
 CL 6=earlier-1SG=morning
 'Morning before yesterday's morning.'

- (30) *t^hu julu-ta=ambikhir*
 1SG early morning-CL 1=morning
 'Morning after tomorrow's morning.'

8.4.2 Syntax of Words Indicating Time

Words such as *terkooto* and *didek* are used both for 'yesterday' and 'tomorrow.' The word for 'day break' is *oto ~ oto* and the generic word for 'morning' is *didek*. The word *oto-tut=bo* literally: 'anterior to day break', or 'day behind me', i.e., 'yesterday' is derived by the body part term *ut=bo* 'behind.'

Temporal adverbs can fill in the predicate slot with the appropriate tense category.

- (31) *nu bat-il jo-bi uru-ottō-k-o*
 Nu night-LOC sing-ABS sang-morning-FA-DST.PST
 'Noe sang the whole night till morning came.'
 OR
 'It was morning before Noe finished singing'

The position of temporal adverbs is not fixed and they can move to the beginning of the clause or a sentence. They can behave like nouns taking case markers¹ (underlined words).

- (32) *ko-il t^h=a=melī-b-om koic*
 later-LOC 1SG=CL 1=return-FA-NPST again
 'I will come back here again later.'

¹ This pattern is very much like Contact Hindi where case marking can be suffixed to temporal adverbial words, e.g., *dopahar men* 'in the afternoon', *saal men* 'in the year' and *andhere men* 'in the dark/night.'

- (33) *julum-te* *t^h=ut=cone-b-om*
 tomorrow morning-ABS 1SG=CL 4=go-FA-NPST
 'I will go early tomorrow morning.'
- (34) *tanto-te* *t^hu-aom*
 year-ABS 1SG-come.NPST
 'I come every year.'
- (35) *tara=sulu-tanto-e* *t^hitp^hile-k-o*
 CL 6=later-year-ABS tsunami-FA-DST.PST
 'The tsunami came last year.'
- (36) *ɲɛɛɲ-il* *t^h=ɛm* *laɬ*
 darkness-LOC 1SG=REFL fear
 'I fear the dark.'
- (37) *terko-oto* *ɬɔɔ-ak* *t^h=ut=cone-b-om*
 day after tomorrow shore-DIR 1SG=CL 4=go-FA-NPST
 'I am going to the beach the day after tomorrow.' (*oto* 'day break')
- (38) *terko-oto* *portbler-ak* *t^hu* *t^hu-ɔ*
 day before yesterday Port Blair-DIR 1SG reach-DST.PST
 'I reached Port Blair the day before yesterday.'
- (39) *tara=sulu-didek-il* *t^hu* *cɔkbi-bi* *i(ji)-k-ɔ*
 CL 6=earlier-day-LOC 1SG turtle-ABS eat-FA-DST.PST
 'I ate a turtle yesterday.'
- (40) *urɔɬɔe-ta* *no-t^hik* *no*
 ancient time-ABL house-land.OBJ live
 'He has been living in the house from ancient times.'
- (41) *t^h=ara=in(ci)* *jululu* *jicer-bi* *ao-ø*
 1SG=CL 6=leave before rain-ABS come-PST
 'As I was about to leave, the rain started.'
- (42) *tek^hamo* *ɲ=ot=cone-be*
 immediately 2SG=CL 4=go-IMP
 'You go right away.' or 'Leave immediately.'

The temporal adverb may be moved so that it occurs in the middle of the clause.

- (43) *t^hu ino-bi* *dik^hɔma* *i=k^hue*
 1SG water-ABS already CL 5=drink.IMM.PST
 'I have already had water.'

8.4.3 *Compounding and Lexicalisation*

The lexicalisation of inalienability markers produces compounds of temporal adverbs. Not all constituents are transparent in their meaning.

- (a) *bat-ter=bel*
 night-CL 2=overflow
 ‘Late night.’
- (b) *t^h=ut=d̥iu*
 1SG=CL 4=sun
 ‘Whole day.’
- (c) *it=t^haxe*
 OBJ=1SG.now
 ‘Till now.’
- (d) *bat ata=mik^{hu}*
 night CL 2=middle
 ‘Middle of the night.’
- (e) *meŋ-er=co-d̥iu*
 1PL.INCL-CL 2=head-sun
 ‘Midday’ Literally: ‘Sun on our head’
- (f) *ε=oro k^{hu}ui-l*
 CL 5=flower drink-LOC
 ‘In youth’; ‘while young’ (in the stage of drinking nectar)

8.4.4 *Multiplicity of Temporal Deixis*

It is not unusual to find several distinct forms for the same temporal reference as the speakers came from different lineages as discussed earlier in Chapter 1. We have noted all the variations in the following table.

Table 8.3. Multiplicity of temporal deixis

English gloss	Andamanese form
ancient times	<i>urɔʔɔe</i>
ancient times	<i>purɔʔɔe</i>
daily, often	<i>ʔa:norɔ</i>
just now	<i>k^{he}lto</i>
now	<i>it=tak^{he}</i>
now	<i>dek^{hu}</i>
now	<i>k^{hu}amu</i>
prior to	<i>aka=sulu</i>
today, now	<i>d̥id̥ek</i>

8.4.5 *Celestial Bodies as Temporal Markers*

The Great Andamanese, like many other societies of hunter-gatherers, distinguish the day and the month on the basis of the appearance of the ‘sun’ *qiu* and the ‘moon’ *qulo*. Consult the following table.

The Great Andamanese do not use specific days of a year as deictic categories. Hence, there are no names for the days of a week such as ‘Sunday’, ‘Monday’, etc.

Other ways of marking time in PGA are based on the honey calendar and the naming seasons which are based on the seasonal blossoms. This topic has already been discussed in §1.9.2.

8.4.6 *Temporal Categorisation and Hunting and Gathering*

Apart from measuring and categorising time on the basis of natural events like the blossoming of seasonal flowers, the movement of the sun, etc., the Great Andamanese also categorise time on the basis of the availability of food resources and the best time for hunting an animal or fish. We were able to elicit some names for periods of time that were either coined after a blooming flower or fruit or based on the availability of food.

Table 8.4. Terms for direction and days of a month

<i>qiu-bala</i>	‘afternoon’ Lit. ‘sun-arm’
<i>qiu-beraceŋo</i>	‘evening’ (around 3–4 pm)
<i>qiu-bet-oncɔlɔ</i>	‘solar eclipse’
<i>qiu-bik-a-tʰu</i>	‘around sunrise time’ Lit. ‘born of sun’
<i>qiu-kara</i>	‘sunrise, east’
<i>qiu-karale</i>	‘sunset, west’
<i>qiu-mɛŋer-co</i>	‘mid-day sun’ Lit. ‘sun above our head’
<i>qiu-tara=bat</i>	‘dusk’
<i>qiu-tara=cɔl</i>	‘sunlight’
<i>qiu-tara=le</i>	‘sunset, direction of sunset, west’
<i>qiu-temec</i>	‘focus of sun towards Port Blair’
<i>qiu-ter=bec</i>	‘overcast sky’ Lit. ‘hiding of the sun in the clouds’, ‘hair of the sun’
<i>qulo ~ qulɔ</i>	‘moon, moonlight, month’
<i>qulo-kan-tuse</i>	‘fortnight’
<i>qulo-kara</i>	‘setting of moon’, ‘west’
<i>qulo-pʰɔɾɔk</i>	‘full moon’
<i>qulo-tarale</i>	‘rising of moon’, ‘east’
<i>qu:lo-tara:wto</i>	‘third quarter of moon’
<i>qu:lo-tʰire</i>	‘first quarter of moon’ Lit. ‘moon-child’
<i>qulo-beton-cɔlɔ</i>	‘lunar eclipse’
<i>qulo-tara=cɔl</i>	‘moon light’
<i>tʰi-ter=ɔtɔ</i>	‘early morning, day break’

Table 8.5. Names of flowers and hunting time

Great Andamanese flower names	Relevance for hunting in the sea or in the forest
<i>kəɽɔjɪn-ɔɽɔ</i>	The period when the fat content in turtles and fish is high
<i>bəp-ɕɔɭ</i>	The period when <i>bik^hir</i> , <i>liof</i> and <i>bere</i> fish are found in abundance
<i>loro-ɕɔɭ</i>	The period best for catching <i>p^hiku</i> and <i>ɟuri</i> fishes
<i>cək^hɔro-ɕɔɭ</i>	The period when pigs have maximum fat. Therefore the best time to hunt pigs.

Man (1883: 144) writes about the Great Andamanese belief that the best time to hunt turtle or fish is during the ebb between dawn and the rising of the waning moon. This period is therefore named *aks-tig-pala* in the Âkà-Bêa language. Similarly Man (1923: 182) writes about the best time to collect shell fish known as *astoya* in Âkà-Bêa.

The parameters of temporal categorisation have also been discussed in §1.9.3.1 and §1.9.3.2 and should be referred to to assess the ways the Great Andamanese measure time historically.

8.5 SPATIAL DEIXIS

Space occupies a pivotal role in Great Andamanese life which is encoded in the language. Although the speakers are no longer hunter-gatherers, the language they use reflects the life of the forest and the sea-shore dwelling society. Spatial deixis is defined as expressions which locate both the speech and narrated participants in space. Two significant aspects that are encoded in the language is the idea of proximity of speech and narrated participants and the visibility of the latter. These two aspects were also considered to some extent in the previous chapter. We will concentrate on other spatial aspects which are encoded in the language. Most of the speakers of PGA are descendants of coast dwellers, and thus there are many elaborate terms for the seascape as shown in Table 8.6. Terms that are related to land and forest are equally elaborate as can be seen in Table 8.7.

Table 8.6. Levels of the sea

<i>firo</i>	‘sea’
<i>firo-ter-lik^{hu}</i>	‘deep sea’ (literally: ‘depth of sea’)
<i>firo ter kera</i>	‘shallow sea’ (literally: ‘descend of sea’)
<i>firo ter tek</i>	‘away from the coast’
<i>firo ter cek</i>	‘right in the centre of the sea’ (literally: ‘much of the sea’)
<i>firo tara cerel</i>	‘open sea’ (literally: ‘green of sea’), Blue ocean
<i>firo cerel</i>	‘green/blue sea’
<i>tot-p^holo</i>	‘seashore’ (literally: ‘emerging from the waves’)
<i>buruk^{hu}-tara-bo^ho</i>	‘end of the rocky region’ (literally: ‘fall of rocky structure’)
<i>sare</i>	‘knee deep water or beginning of the sea’
<i>kera</i>	‘beyond <i>sare</i> with waist-high water’
<i>ʈɔɔ-burɔŋo</i>	‘sandy beach’

8.5.1 *Distance and Direction*

A short list of seascape terms is given here to illustrate how conceptual dependency and inalienability are intertwined to refer to distances and directions of a space with reference to the self. The word order in the following constructions is the same as in adjectival constructions, i.e., the modified followed by modifier. The language uses single words as well as larger constructions, those which are modified by possession.

Many locational modifications are specified either by compounding or by juxtaposing two nominals with an intervening body division CLASS MARKER. Some of the constructions modify nouns by specifying the space of the object and operate in the spatial deictic category. Consider the following table.

Table 8.7. Landscape and coastal terms

Inland domain	PGA	English gloss
Land	<i>ʈ^{hi}</i>	‘Land’, ‘earth’
	<i>ʈ^{hi}-tara-le</i>	‘Decline’ (literally: descend/ decrease of land)
	<i>ʈ^{hi}-tot-kara</i>	‘Incline’ (literally: ascend/increase of land)
Forest	<i>ʈ^{hi}- mik^{hu}</i>	‘Forest’
	<i>aro</i>	‘Light forest’
	<i>ʈ^{hi}mik^{hu} ɲero</i>	‘Dense forest’
	<i>ʈ^{hi}mik^{hu}-ʈɔŋ-p^hoŋ</i>	‘Heart of the jungle’
	<i>ʈottaŋo</i>	‘Sides of the forest’
	<i>ʈ^{hi}-tɔt=be-ta=p^ho</i>	‘Opening in forest with little undergrowth’
	<i>ino-ter=p^hoŋ</i>	‘Fresh water hole’

Table 8.7 (*cont.*)

Inland domain	PGA	English gloss
	<i>t^{hi} tara=ta</i>	'Levelled ground'
	<i>t^{hi}-tot=kɔɔbo</i>	'Dried land'
	<i>t^{hi}-tot=belo</i>	'Clear ground'
	<i>tɔɔ=boa</i>	'Sandy ground'
Island	<i>tut dello</i>	'Small island'
	<i>t^{hi}-tot=kata</i>	'Small islet'
Coastal	<i>buliu</i>	'Creek'
	<i>bule</i>	'Big creek'
	<i>tara cara</i>	'Small creek'
	<i>kara ŋik</i>	'Sea shore area'
	<i>bucɔŋ</i>	'Mangrove area' (named metonymically after mangrove tree)
Hill	<i>buruin</i>	'Hill'
	<i>buruin-to=kara</i>	'Steep of hill/climb hill'
	<i>buruin tara=le</i>	'Slope of hill/descend from hill'
	<i>buruin tom=p^{ho}ŋ</i>	'Foot of the hill'
	<i>buruin leo</i>	'Small hillock'

8.5.2 Vertical and Horizontal Space

The Great Andamanese divide the space in a house or any dwelling vertically and horizontally. Unlike in the case of the sea-space, some body division terms are used in defining the parts and space of a house *no*. In other words, the conceptualisation of the house space is anthropocentric. The Great Andamanese use human categories to describe non-human ones. Consider the following table. Only those body part terms which are transparent are translated. The individual meaning of the others is not known.

Table 8.8. Spatial deixis describing parts of a Great Andamanese house

Specific part of a house	English gloss
<i>no-tara=tan</i>	'house-CL 6='top' 'Roof of the house' (elevated)
<i>no-tara=ten</i>	'house-CL 6='arm' 'Roof of the house near the ground'
<i>no-p^{ho}ŋ</i>	'house'-'mouth', 'Entrance of the house'
<i>no-ta=cɔk^{ho}</i>	'house'-CL 1='face': 'Front of the house'
<i>no-ter=olot</i>	'house'-CL 2='octopus', 'Openings in the screens through which smoke goes out' (now used for windows)

Table 8.8 (*cont.*)

Specific part of a house	English gloss
<i>no-ta=tecɔ</i>	'house'-CL 1='trunk', 'Middle post of the house'
<i>no-ta=tɔk^ho-p^hareɔ</i>	'house'-CL 1='wood-mat', 'Platform on which roofing mat is spread'
<i>no-ta=k^huro</i>	'house'-CL 1='shoulder', 'Slope of a roof'
<i>no-kotra</i>	'Interior of a house'

Although modern Great Andamanese houses are no longer made with sloping roofs touching the ground, some terms listed in Table 8.8 are still used.

8.5.3 Locational/Spatial Postpositions

Locational or spatial postpositions are derived by (1) juxtaposition of one or multiple CLASS MARKERS and the locative marker *-l*; (2) a single word specifying the space; (3) a body part term juxtaposed to both a CLASS MARKER and a locative marker *-l*; and (4) by using the directional suffix *-ak*. Most of the spatial postpositions are derived by the first method. As in the case of temporal deixis, the spatial deixis is specified with reference to the self. Among the body part terms 'face', 'head', 'back', 'front', and 'waist' are used most often to derive spatial deixis. Thus, *ɛr=karap* 'waist' but *a=karap* 'behind someone.' The extremities of the body are never used for deriving spatial deixis.

In the following sentence the body part terms 'face' and 'back' are suffixed by locational suffixes to express locational deixis.

- (44) *tɛr=cɔk^he-l* *t^h=ut=ɲyo* *tɔŋ* *jiyo*
 CL 1=face-LOC 1SG=CL 4=house tree exist
 'There is a tree in front of/behind my house.'
- (45) *ɲut=bɔ-l* *t^hu* *t^h=aono-m*
 2SG.CL 4=back=LOC 1SG 1SG=sit.NPST
 'I am sitting behind you.'

The table presented below lists different locative words in PGA. The suffix *-l* indicates the locative marker. Some of the forms are lexicalised in the current form of the language. Readers will notice multiple words for the same concept as the words are drawn from different speakers who are from different lineages as discussed in the first chapter. Also refer to case in sections §5.2.2.9 and §5.2.2.10.

Table 8.9. Spatial adverbs and their morphemic composition

English gloss	Andamanese form	Morphology
above the head	<i>ut=kɔt-co</i>	CL 4=above-head: 'heaven'
across	<i>ɛr=p^hɛt</i>	CL 2=swell
at, in the direction of	<i>-ak</i>	DEIXIS
away	<i>ta=cak^hu-l</i>	CL 1=face-LOC
before, preceding	<i>a= tujulu</i>	CL 1=early
behind	<i>ut=bɔ-l</i>	CL 4=back-LOC
behind	<i>ut=k^hum</i>	CL 4=shoulder
behind someone	<i>a=karap</i>	CL 1=waist
behind something	<i>ara=balo</i>	CL 6=creeper
far away, last one	<i>tara=t^huro</i>	CL 6=exit
front of	<i>a=tɔŋ</i>	CL 1=courtyard
having brought the boat to the side	<i>kotɛʃil</i>	DEIXIS
having turned back	<i>bɔ-t-k^hacol</i>	back-OBJ-DEIXIS
immediately under	<i>tara=te=ono</i>	CL 6=CL 5=forearm
in front of	<i>ter=cok^he-l</i>	CL 2=face-LOC
in the middle of something	<i>tek^hil</i>	DEIXIS
inside	<i>e=kotra</i>	CL 5=INSIDE
near	<i>cul</i>	DEIXIS
near	<i>e=ʃop^ho</i>	CL 5=DEIXIS
near	<i>belo:pok</i>	DEIXIS
near (touching)	<i>ɛ= cua</i>	CL 5=near
on	<i>tut=ara:=l</i>	CL 4=CL 6=LOC
on something in contact	<i>tara=l</i>	CL 6=LOC
other side (of jungle/sea)	<i>ter=p^hɛt</i>	CL 2=swell
side (of) X	<i>ɛ=p^hɛt-ɛr=</i>	CL 5=swell-CL 2=
towards the land	<i>o=kara</i>	CL 7=DEIXIS
towards the sea	<i>ot=le</i>	CL 4=DEIXIS
under	<i>tumbo-l</i>	down-LOC
under something	<i>tara=ta=l</i>	CL 6=CL 1=LOC
upstairs	<i>suŋo</i>	DEIXIS
very far	<i>kara-it=p^ho-be</i>	sunset-OBJ=NEG-COP
very far	<i>kara-ta=teŋo</i>	sunset-CL 1=?

Some examples:

- (46) *no-k^huttral* *mo* *beno-b-ɔm*
house-inside we sleep-FA-NPST
‘We sleep inside the house.’

- (47) *a=buli* *ʃɔɔ-ak* *ut=cɔne-k-ɔm*
CL 1=buli beach-DIR CL 4=go-FA-NPST
‘Buli goes to the beach.’

- (48) *kəɾɔjɪ* *sare* *tara =ta=l* *meo-pʰoŋ* *ʈʰi* *bik* *no-k-ɔm*
 Dugong sea CL 6=CL 1=LOC stone-hole live ABS.OBJ live-FA-NPST
 'Dugong lives in the stone-cave of the sea.'

The various body division class markers explicate various spatial relations as considered in Table 8.10.

8.6 BODY DIVISION CLASSES AND ADVERBS

As should be clear by now, adverbs of various types and some deictic markers can be preceded by proclitics. Proclitics are highly grammaticalised in an adverbial function. Below are listed seven classes of adverbs each preceded by an appropriate PROCLITIC and its semantic characteristics. On many occasions the same class marker signifies more than two adverbial functions, such as 'manner' and 'space' or 'time.' This has been noted in Table 8.11. These markers are obligatorily attached to the following words which assign the status of dependency to the modifiers of action, time and space.

It can be seen that various deictic meanings, whether of space or time, are signified by a specific body division PROCLITIC. Although *a=* or *ta=* is a body division class marker which refers to the body part term 'mouth', the grammaticalisation of the term gives the manner adverb, a meaning of anteriority or spatial deixis of front and back when it precedes a word of action or state. Similarly, directional meaning is conveyed by using CL 4 *ut=* which originally refers to bodily products.

8.7 THIRD PERSON DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS AND DEIXIS

We would like to recall that third person pronouns offer the maximum variety of forms. See §7.1. One important parameter that was discussed in

Table 8.10. Body division classes designating spatial relations

Class	Body class markers	Body division	Spatial relations	Reference points
1	<i>a=</i>	mouth cavity	surface	'front'
2	<i>ɛr=</i>	face	anterior, exterior	'front', 'out'
4	<i>ut=</i>	body products	posterior, superior	'up'
5	<i>e=</i>	internal parts	interior, centre	'in'
6	<i>ara=</i>	sides	periphery	'edge'
7	<i>ɔ=</i>	lower parts	inferior	'down'

Table 8.11. Body division classes in adverbs

Class	Body class markers	Semantics	Examples
1	<i>a=</i>	deixis of front or back; anteriority of an action	<i>a=karap</i> 'behind', <i>a=kaulu</i> 'prior to'
2	<i>er= ~ er=</i>	deixis of adjacency	<i>er=betto:fo</i> 'adjacent to/near X'
3	<i>on= ~ on=</i>	haste or hurriedly done action	<i>on=kocil</i> 'fast', 'hurriedly'
4	<i>ut= ~ ot=</i>	directional deixis	<i>ot=le</i> , 'seaward', <i>ot=bo</i> 'backwards'
5	<i>e= ~ i= ~ ε=</i>	deixis of internal space	<i>te=k^hil</i> 'in the middle', <i>e=kotra</i> 'inside'
6	<i>ara=</i>	deixis of immediate vertical or horizontal space	<i>ara=balo</i> 'behind X', <i>tara=tal</i> 'right under X'
7	<i>o= ~ ɔ=</i>	temporal deixis	<i>o=tɔ:</i> 'day break', <i>o=kara</i> 'sunset'

Chapter 7 was that the forms were distinguished on the basis of distance and visibility. The distant but visible object is represented by three distinct forms depending upon the number of the object in question (Table 8.12). The distant but invisible objects are represented by two different forms depending on the singular and plural number of the objects under study. The subject or object third person is generally cliticised as *u* or *o*. Thus, *u ~ o* refers to any person who is not visible and is equivalent to the English referent 'he', while *ɖune ~ ɖuni* is reserved for identifying the third person plural referent 'they.' The accusative and dative form of this is *unni*.

The other category that plays a role in deciding the third person form, as mentioned in the previous chapter, is the proximity to the addressor. If the object is very close to the speaker, say, almost at arm's length, and is able to be touched, the form *k^hidi* is used. However, if the object is closer to the hearer than to the speaker, the form would be *k^hudi* if singular, or *ɖiya* and its variant forms if plural.

- (49) *ɖiya/k^hudi-no cae bi caʈo-k-o*
 3PL.PROX2 what ABS do-FA-DST.PST
 'What were these (people) doing?'

- (50) *k^hidi* *ŋ=ifo* *julu* *bireŋ* *be*
 3SG.PROX1 2SG=GEN dress colourful COP
 ‘This is your colourful dress.’

It should be noted that the plural forms for proximate and distant visible objects were only attested for one speaker as other speakers no longer use them. Demonstratives are often identical to locative pro-forms and usually make a two-way distinction based on either proximity to the speaker or the relative distance based on the visibility of the object, or the proximity to the hearer. The form marked for intermediate distance, i.e. the one used for ‘closer to the hearer’, is the least marked and often serves as the relative clause marker or occasionally a third person pronoun. In all, the language provides eight different forms of demonstratives given in Table 8.12. Some of them have more than one variant form.

Locational case suffixes and location words such as *tuttara:l* ‘on’, ‘on top of’ and *kuttara:l* ‘inside’ have already been discussed in §5.2.2.10. Also refer to Table 5.2 given in Chapter 5. In all, deictic categories are very complex and are derived by multiple processes. They represent the interplay of anthropocentrism and the perception of distance and time by the Great Andamanese.

Table 8.12. Demonstrative pronouns

Deictic distance	Singular	Dual	Plural
PROXIMATE1 CLOSER TO SPEAKER	<i>k^hidi</i>	—	
PROXIMATE2 CLOSER TO HEARER	<i>k^hudi</i>	—	<i>k^hudino ~ dia ~ diya</i>
DISTANT VISIBLE	<i>qi</i>	<i>quini</i>	<i>qunio</i>
DISTANT INVISIBLE	<i>qu ~ quio ~ u</i>		<i>quni ~ qune</i>

CHAPTER NINE

THE VERB AND VERB COMPLEX

INTRODUCTION

The verb in present-day Great Andamanese (PGA) occupies the sentence-final position and consists of several morphemes, which are prefixed, infixes and suffixed to the root morpheme. There is no agreement in a prototypical sense, although direct object agreement exists in the form of object clitics with all transitive verbs as discussed earlier in Chapter 3 and in the sections §7.3.2 as well as in §9.3. However, it was observed in §3.3.3 and §3.5 that these verbal clitics are intertwined with the manner of action. Refer to various forms of ‘cut’ and associated various object clitics in §7.3.2.2 representing different ways of ‘cutting.’ Pronominal subject agreement appears on the temporal adverbs as seen in §8.4, but not on finite verbs. These are not prototypical cases of the agreement phenomenon.

There are also reflexive verbs generated by adding the reflexive morpheme *em-* to verb roots, e.g. *em-boe*, ‘to marry’, *em-etho* ‘to recline’, *em-borace* ‘get angry with oneself’, etc. as seen in §7.5 and reciprocal verbs such as *eren-ceo* ‘to fight’ as discussed in §7.6.

In short, a verb root may or may not be bound. All bound forms are obligatorily preceded by one of the seven body division class markers or object clitics. In addition, verbs may optionally be preceded by a valency-indicating morpheme, such as the causative or applicative, or by a reflexive morpheme indicating self-directed action. If the verbal root morpheme ends in an open syllable, a formative affixal consonant *-b-* or *-k-* or *-l-* is infixes between the verb root and the following mood or tense marker. This can be illustrated in a schema. Aspect markers are added directly to the verb root without the formative affix.

(S 9.1)

(PROCLITIC) (VALENCY) (REFLEXIVE) VERB ROOT ([FORMATIVE AFFIX])
(MOOD/ASPECT) [TENSE]

Thus:

- (1) *a=narayan ɛr=ŋol-om*
 CL 1=narayan CL 2=write-NPST
 'Narayan writes.'
- (2) *ŋu ek=terol-e*
 2SG OBJ=sell-IMP
 'You sell it.'
- (3) *t^{hi}re rɛfɛ-bi iji-k-o*
 child rice-ABS eat-FA-DST.PST
 'The child was eating rice.'
- (4) *oco-ta=cav-om*
 net-APPL/CAUS=spread-NPST
 '(He) casts the net.'
- (5) *a= t^{hi}re-n cae-b-o*
 CL 1= child-REFL rot-FA-DST.PST
 'The child was aborted.'

A large number of verbs are individuated by the body division class marker proclitics, in which body part semantics shift into event type semantic categories of various kinds. These proclitics combine with verbal roots of any valence. These are very significant features of the language. Let us discuss them in detail.

9.1 VERBAL PROCLITICS

As we observed in Chapter 3, PGA has a dual semantic system for body part categorisation. Further, we have seen that body part semantics pervade the lexical and grammatical system of the language as this dual system is extended to other form classes, viz. verbs, adjectives and adverbs. Here we are concerned with the relationship of these class markers with verbs.

Although most of the verbs in the language are obligatorily preceded by these body division class proclitics, a few verbs in the language appear as free forms. Thus, PGA offers both bound and free forms of verbs. The seven body division class markers are grammaticalised to a large extent, but the original semantics of each of the body division terms is retained by some. The following table gives all the class marker proclitics for the

Table 9.1. The body division class markers with verbs

Class	Body division class markers	Semantics of classes and verb forms	Examples
Class 1	<i>a=</i>	mouth-related activity, origin, name	<i>a=jire</i> 'abuse', <i>a=kɔp^ho</i> 'sprout'
Class 2	<i>ɛr= ~ er=</i>	action involving the front part of the body	<i>era=luk</i> 'weigh'
Class 3	<i>oŋ= ~ on=</i>	hand-related activity	<i>oŋ=c^ho</i> 'stitch', <i>un=tujuro</i> 'trembling of hands'
Class 4	<i>ut= ~ ot=</i>	directional, experiential	<i>ot=cone</i> 'leave', <i>t^het^he-bom</i> 'be hungry'
Class 5	<i>e= ~ i- ~ ɛ-</i>	action involving the interior of an object	<i>e=lɛco</i> 'suck', <i>ɛ=rino</i> 'tear'
Class 6	<i>ara=</i>	action involving middle and back portions of the body	<i>ara=ɖelo</i> 'be pregnant'
Class 7	<i>o= ɔ =</i>	resultative state	<i>o=corno</i> 'make nest', <i>o=beo</i> 'sting'

verbs. While the semantics for CLASS 1 are nearly transparent, CLASS 7 is highly grammaticalised. Not all seven are grammaticalised to the same degree.

Let us consider verbs of all valencies, intransitive, transitive and causative, and their association with the body division class markers.

9.2 INTRANSITIVE VERBS

The body division class markers attach to intransitive verbs designating various psychological predicates, experiences, and states. Some intransitive verbs are attached to body division class markers explicating a world of event and state which can be considered on a par with the distinctions made on the scale of inalienability with regards to the body part terms.

Hence, verbs with a proclitic *ot=* ~ *ut=* originally signifying 'genesis' or 'emerging out of the body' would refer to an action of motion away from the speaker, such as 'go', 'exit'; thus *tʰ=ut=cɔne-bom* (1SG=CL 4=go-NPST) 'I am going', or, where something is (not necessarily tangible) generated as in experiential verbs 'feeling sad/happy/hungry/thirsty', etc., as in *thire ut=thetɛ-bom* (child CL 4=hunger-NPST) 'the child is hungry.' These objects of experience, namely 'hunger', 'thirst', etc., are an inherent part of the experience (hence they are inalienable) and emerge involuntarily in a person. They are seen as products of the body or 'self.' Similarly, verbs such as 'shake' and 'kiss' have CLASS 2 *er=* while verbs like 'pound' or 'beat to a pulp' use *e=*, the CLASS 5 which allows us to extend the analogy given in the semantics of the partonomy of body.

- (a) *a=jetʰ*
CL 1=vomit like
'to feel nauseated or uneasy'
- (b) *ɛ=colol*
CL 5=roll
'to roll down'
- (c) *e=biŋe*
CL 5=think/remember
'to think'
- (6) *tʰ=e=ta=biŋe*
1SG=CL 5=APP=think
'I am thinking (of something).'

Two different kinds of experiences may demand two different proclitics.

jome 'scare'

- (a) *ɛ=jome*
CL 5=scare
'be afraid'
- (b) *ut=jome*
CL 4= scare
'get startled'

The proclitics are very productive and are not very selective as they attach to a large number of verbs. Their distribution makes sense in terms of the basic seven body division classifications. Consider CLASS MARKER 4 *ut=*, *ot=* attached to different verbs retaining the primary meaning of 'genesis'

and CLASS MARKER 5 *i=*, *e=* indicating internalised experience. Although many usages are lexicalised (h), in many cases the class markers can productively be attached to several verb forms to create new lexemes.

(a)	<i>ut=thu</i>	'be born'	[CL 4=born]
(b)	<i>ot=cone</i>	'go', 'exit'	[CL 4=exit]
(c)	<i>ut=t^{he}t^{he}</i>	'feel hungry'	[CL 4=hunger]
(d)	<i>ut=p^hae</i>	'feel thirsty'	[CL 4=thirst]
(e)	<i>ot=bo:lo</i>	'peel off'	[CL 4=peel]
(f)	<i>ot=cobi</i>	'shoot at a large crowd'	[CL 4=shoot out]
(g)	<i>i=ji:te</i>	'tremble'	[CL 5=tremble]
(h)	<i>ijube</i>	'fly' N	

9.3 TRANSITIVE VERBS

A large number of transitive verbs are preceded by body division class markers. The nature of these decides the specific meaning of the verb and, at times, signifies multiple locations and the manner of action as exemplified below. In addition to the seven basic class markers considered above, the language has additional object clitics that attach to transitive verbs. These are: *et=* ~ *it=* ~ *ik=* ~ *ek=* and *en=* ~ *en=* indicating more often than not a resultative action as in *En=oke* 'knit with cane', where the result is symbolised by the object clitic. Also refer to §7.3.2 on object clitics. The phonetic shape of each of these clitics is often decided by the nature of the action designated by the verb and the associated object seen in the context of the partonomy of the body. Consider the following examples.

The verb 'aim' can denote various ways of aiming at an object in a hunter-gatherer society and in PGA each is marked differently. This implies that the same verb root may take different proclitics each specifying the mode of action as seen in the example of the verb 'cut' in the previous chapter in §7.3.2.2. Attaching different proclitics has the potentiality of changing the valency of the verb concerned. This is a significant characteristic of PGA that any verb root can take a variety of proclitics governed by the appropriate semantics. Proclitics decide the ultimate meaning of the verb. See below.

file 'aim'

- (a) *ut=file*
CL 4=aim
'Aim from above'

- (b) *ara=ŋile*
CL 6=aim
'Aim from a distance'
- (c) *ek=ŋile*
OBJ=aim
'Aim at' (resultative)
- (d) *e=ŋile*
CL 5=aim
'Aim to pierce.' (internalised action)

Consider the following sentence:

- (7) *bol-bi(u)t= tara=ŋil-e*
bol-ABS-CL 4= CL 6=aim-IMP
'Aim at the Bol fish from a distance.'

In many usages these proclitics seem to indicate the 'manner' of action. The transitive verbs 'cut' as seen earlier in §7.3.2.2 and 'hit/slap' given below can have many manifestations signified by the body division class markers.

***p^{ho}* 'cut'**

- (a) *ara=p^{ho}*
CL 6=cut
'cut down', 'fell'
- (b) *er=p^{ho}*
CL 2=cut
'hit with a stick in the front'
- (c) *ut=p^{ho}*
CL 4=cut
'separate from the source' (betel nut from its branch)

***bate* 'hit'**

- (a) *er=bate*
CL 2=slap
'slap on the face'
- (b) *ek=bate*
OBJ=slap
'slap suddenly, unexpected'
- (c) *ut=bate*
CL 4=slap
'slap (hard)'

- (d) *eren-bate*
REFL-slap
'slap oneself'
- (8) *meo-e nyaramo ut=bate-k-o*
Meo-ERG Nyaramo CL 4=slap-FA-DST.PST
'Meo slapped Nyaramo hard.'

A related phenomenon with the word 'pluck' or 'pick' is designated by different clitics. English equivalents emerge as phrasal verbs with spatial terms. Each verb form occurs with a distinct class marker.

***lub* 'pick'**

- (a) *er/e=lubom*
CL 2=pick up (from the ground)
- (b) *it=lubom*
OBJ=pick out, (stones in 'daal'), weed out, sort out
- (9) *u k^hider ut=lub-om*
3SG coconut CL 4=pluck-NPST
'He plucks coconuts (from the tree).'

As said earlier, the body division class markers can change the valency of the verb.

***k^hir* 'hot'**

- (10) *e=k^hir be*
CL 5=hot COP
'It is hot.'
- (11) *ut=k^hir be*
CL 4=hot IMP
'Heat it up.'

***bin* 'squeeze'**

- (12) *julu e=bin*
clothes CL 5=squeeze
'Wrung out clothes.'
- (13) *julu it=bin-k-o*
clothes OBJ=squeeze-FA-DST.PST
'(She) wrung out the clothes.'

Both the object clitic and the body division class marker preceding the verb can coexist in clitic sequencing as in the following examples (14–15). Although case markings are dropped in fast speech as mentioned earlier in §5.2 on case, they may also be dropped when the object noun is not a specific one (14). The object noun ‘box’ in (15) is accompanied by an ABSOLUTIVE case as it refers to a specific box.

- (14) *ik=tɛr=ɔlo-k-e*
 OBJ=CL 2=send-FA-IMP
 ‘Send (goods/something).’

- (15) *p^heŋi-bi ik=tɛr=ɔlo-k-e*
 box-ABS OBJ=CL 2=send-FA-IMP
 ‘Send the box.’

Each body division class marker expresses different body locations when combined with the verb for ‘tattooing’, but with CLASS 4 which is for ‘genesis’ it has the meaning of ‘uproot.’

tɔl ‘tattoo’

- (a) *ot=tɔl-e*
 CL 4=tattoo-IMP
 ‘Tattoo the back of the body.’
 (b) *ɛr=tɔl-e*
 CL 2=tattoo-IMP
 ‘Tattoo the forehead.’
 (c) *ut=tɔl-e*
 CL 4=pluck-IMP
 ‘Pluck it.’

The verb ‘to pluck’, ‘break, or ‘disengage’ is *tɔl* which can be employed with a large number of body division class markers and object clitics to convey the nature of the action and the object concerned. In (c) above, the basic meaning of ‘emission’ or ‘separation’ is retained by the clitic. The combinations of various class markers and the verb root express diverse meanings, sometimes rendering an idiomatic phrase as in (17).

- (16) *bei-bi it=tɔl-o*
 bottle-ABS OBJ=break-DST.PST
 ‘The bottle broke.’ (into pieces)

- (17) *caybi* *εn-ɬolo-ke* <un- ɬoloko 'bloomed flowers'
 Wherever RESULT-bloom-COP
 'Flowers bloom everywhere.'
- (18) *εn-ɬolo-bi* *ik/t=(ε) ɬole* <ε-ɬol-e 'pluck flowers'
 RESULT-bloom-ABS OBJ=pluck
 'Pluck the bloomed ones.'
- (19) *ɬɔɬe ɔrobit teŋom*
ɬɔɬ-e=ɔro-bi ut=teŋ-om
 Pandanus-CL 5.POSS=flower-ABS CL 4=smell-NPST
 'The Pandanus flower smells.'

The verb 'to see' which is marked by the internal body division class marker 5, i.e., *e* = ~ *ε* =, changes the meaning if the relational body part class marker 2 *εr* = is attached to it.

ole 'see'

- (a) *εr=ole*
 CL 2=see
 'Call someone by gesture.'
- (b) *ε=ole*
 CL 5=see
 'see'

All these examples indicate that the body division class markers are semantically coded with a specific meaning and thus can be attached to a variety of verbs with the appropriate modification in each case.

As far as object clitics are concerned we observed that each one specifies different readings and, at times, results in idiomatic phrases. For instance, *ek=tara=file* 'to see straight ahead', or 'to aim straight ahead.' However, it can be used as an idiomatic expression as in 'to keep an eye on someone.' Consider:

- (20) *εm-boe-bi* (*e*)*k=tara-file*
 REFL-spouse-ABS OBJ=CL 6-aim
 'Keep an eye on your husband.'

The phonetics of these proclitics is interesting. In fast speech they attach themselves to the preceding case marker or pronominal clitic (example 19 above and 21 below) and form a phonological word. Refer to §2.5.8, §3.8.3 and §4.3 for details. Thus, the above sentence will be rendered as

εm-boe-bik tara-file. Similarly, the word *e=ole* ‘see’ will be pronounced as *t^he=ole* ‘I see’ if the pronominal clitic is added, but in case of the full pronoun form it will be *t^hu cokbi e=ole* ‘I see a turtle.’ The verbs *ut=leb* ‘sweep’, *et=mok* ‘leave’ and *it=nol* ‘played X’ will be rendered as exemplified in the following sentences, allowing the object clitic to be moved towards the case maker *-bi*.

ut=lub ‘pick’, ‘sweep’

- (21) *t^hu t^hi-bit=leb-om*
 1SG earth-ABS.CL 4=sweep-NPST
 ‘I sweep the floor/ground.’

et=mok ‘leave’

- (22) *ak=ark^ha tεk^hamo u porɬblɛr-bit=mok-om*
 3SG-tell soon 3SG Port Blair-ABS.OBJ=leave-NPST
 ‘He says that he will leave Port Blair soon.’

it=nol ‘OBJ=well’

- (23) *a=t^hire eren-k^hole-bit=nol-ɔ*
 CL 1=child REFL-play-ABS.OBJ=well-DST.PST
 ‘The child played it well.’

Thus, what strikes us most from the examples given above is that:

- (i) The basic division in the verbs is not between +/- transitive, but is between +/- dependency, i.e., whether they are preceded by a class marker PROCLITIC or not. Verbs are either dependent or independent. The dependent ones can take any of the seven body division class markers and/or object clitics.
- (ii) The aspect of identifying what kind of body division class marking proclitic is attached to verb root is important, as the body division marking changes the meaning and valency of the verb.
- (iii) In a typical SOV construction, the object clitic or the body division class marking proclitic of the verb has the tendency to attach itself to the absolutive form *-bi* of the preceding object noun and thus the object noun in the sentence has the terminal part sounding as [bit] or [bik]. Refer to §2.5.8 for details.

Although it is very difficult to distinguish one kind of meaning from another while analysing each of the seven divisions represented in the verbs, partly because the body division class marking proclitics have been grammaticalised to varying degrees over a period of time, we were able to make some basic generalisations as presented in Table 9.1 above.

Verbs that do not obligatorily take proclitics are smaller in number than those which do. Some of the examples of the former are: *ci* 'come', *k^huro* 'come close', *ʈop^h* 'bath', *ʎekɔc* 'learn', *cɔk* 'to do good', *caʈ* 'to do', *ʃit* 'to hunt', *k^huro* 'come', *lara* 'hunt turtle', *kara* 'rising of the sun', *akale* 'die', etc. Some of these examples have the potential to take reflexive prefixes, *ɛm-* and *em-*, to specify that the action was directed to the subject, e.g., *em-ʈop^h* 'to take a bath.' Let us now consider the reflexive prefixes.

9.4 REFLEXIVE/SELF-DIRECTED

We briefly discussed reflexives in Chapter 4. The verbs whose actions are self-directed are marked by the reflexive prefix *aran-* ~ *aram-* or *Em-*. The prefix *aran-* changes to *aram-* if the following word begins with a labial. Not all but most of these verbs are prototypically experiential verbs. Thus, the following verbs indicate that the action is self-directed.

- | | | |
|-----|------------------------------|-------------------------|
| (a) | <i>aram boli-k-o-m</i> | 'to take rest' |
| (b) | <i>aram ben-o-m</i> | 'to lie down' |
| (c) | <i>aran laʈ</i> | 'startle', 'get scared' |
| (d) | <i>aran tɛŋ</i> | 'to howl', 'to scream' |
| (e) | <i>em-p^horol</i> | 'turn (over) by self' |
| (f) | <i>ɛm-rok^ho-b</i> | 'get ready' |
| (g) | <i>ɛm-boi</i> | 'get married' |
| (h) | <i>em-bɔɾʈ^hul</i> | 'remember' |
| (i) | <i>em-barate</i> | 'flutter' |
| (j) | <i>em-bo</i> | 'know' |
| (k) | <i>em-bolo</i> | 'bruise' |
| (l) | <i>em-borace</i> | 'get angry' |
| (m) | <i>em-p^hɛ</i> | 'dive' |
| (n) | <i>em-p^hil</i> | 'die' |
| (o) | <i>em-k^hil</i> | 'shake' |

- (24) *ʈ^ha* (ɛ)m *eʈ^h-om*
 1SG REFL recline-NPST
 'I am reclining'

- (25) $t^h=\varepsilon m$ *boe-b-om*
 1SG=REFL marry-FA-NPST
 'I am getting married.'

It has been noticed that the reflexive morpheme can also be infixes between the root and the tense, aspect and mood categories. Thus:

- (26) $ut=t^he t^he$ > $ut=t^he t^he-em-be$ '(He) was hungry.'

- (27) $e=mat$ > $e=mat-em-b-om$ 'He runs.'

If the verb has the overt causative/applicative marker *ta=* the reflexive marker can be distanced from the verb root, as in:

- (28) $t^h\gamma a-bi$ $t^ha/\eta a/a/\eta a/-\varepsilon m-ta=malai-o$
 stand-STAT 1SG/2SG/3SG/2PL/1PL/-REFL-APPL=tire-DST.PST
 'I/you/he/you all/we all got tired standing.'

To summarise, PGA verbs can be preceded by:

- (i) Proclitics to an indicate direct object and objects which are the result of an action. These are:
 $\{et= \sim it= \sim ik= \sim ek= \sim \varepsilon n= \text{ and } \sim en=\}$.
- (ii) Reflexive prefixes such as $\{\varepsilon m- \sim em-\}$.
- (iii) The seven body division class marker proclitics, such as $\{a=, \varepsilon r=, o\eta=, ut=, e=, ara=, \text{ and } o=\}$, which are attached to the verb roots.
- (iv) The causative / applicative proclitic $ata= \sim ta=$.

Let us now consider the adjacency phenomenon that occurs between bound morphemes and the verb root.

9.5 THE DISTANCING OF THE VERBAL PROCLITIC FROM ITS HOST

We discussed in Chapter 3 that there is no obligatory rule that proclitics immediately attach to the verb in all constructions. The fact is that they can be moved to a position before a verb phrase as shown in (29a, 30, 32, and 34) below. Whenever a body division class marker is long-distanced it shows discontinuity. For example, CLASS 4 in sentence (29a) is a proclitic to the verb 'cut' and not to the noun 'tree' which is an independent noun. Thus the hanging = sign means that the proclitic is not adjacent to the

verb, its usual host, but is instead attached to the grammatical category on the left of the verb form, which serves as the phonological host.¹ This category is often the subject of the sentence. We reiterate the discussion for the purpose of clarity and to link it with the discussion that follows in §9.6. Distancing is shown by the line drawing.

- (29a) $\begin{array}{ccc} & \text{---} & \\ | & & | \\ t^h=ut= & t\omega\eta-e & p^ho-k-e \\ \text{1SG=CL 4=} & \text{tree-ABS} & \text{cut-FA-IMM.PST} \\ \text{'I cut the tree.'} & & \end{array}$

- (29b) $\begin{array}{ccc} t^hu & t\omega\eta-e & ut=p^ho-k-e \\ \text{1SG} & \text{tree-ABS} & \text{CL 4=cut-FA-IMM.PST} \\ \text{'I cut the tree.'} & & \end{array}$

- (30) $\begin{array}{ccc} & \text{---} & \\ | & & | \\ \eta o & i=cop^he & c\omega\eta-o \\ \text{2SG} & \text{CL 5=enough/how much} & \text{get-DST.PST} \\ \text{'How much did you get?' or 'Did you get enough?'} & & \end{array}$

- (31) $\begin{array}{ccc} \eta o & cop^he & i=c\omega\eta-o \\ \text{2SG} & \text{enough/how much} & \text{CL 5=get-DST.PST} \\ \text{'How much did you get (or) did you get enough?'} & & \end{array}$

We saw in §9.1 that verbal proclitics also attach to intransitive verbs. These can also be long-distanced from the head, i.e., the verb, as the subject noun attracts the verbal proclitic or object clitic towards itself as in sentences (32, 33, 34 and 35).

- (32) $\begin{array}{ccc} & \text{---} & \\ | & & | \\ reya & jo et= & n\epsilon rence-o \\ \text{Reya} & \text{Joe OBJ=} & \text{3PL fight-DST.PST} \\ \text{'Reya and Joe fought with each other.'} & & \end{array}$

- (33) $\begin{array}{ccc} t^h= & ot=t^he t^he-b-\omega m \\ \text{1SG=} & \text{CL 4=hunger-FA-NPST} \\ \text{'I am hungry.'} & & \end{array}$

- (34) $\begin{array}{ccc} & \text{---} & \\ | & & | \\ Buli-ot= & diglipur-ak & cone-b-\omega \\ \text{Buli-CL 4=} & \text{Diglipur-DIR} & \text{go away-FA-DST.PST} \\ \text{'Buli went away to Diglipur.'} & & \end{array}$

¹ This, at times, gives the clitic sequencing that we discussed in Chapter 3.

These structures show that complements of the clause or adjunct can operate as intervening elements between the clitic and the verb. The distancing of the proclitic is optional as the sentence (34) can also be rendered as:

- (35) *buli diglipur-ak ut=cone-b-o*
 Buli Diglipur-DIR CL 4=GO-FA-DST.PST
 'Buli went to Diglipur'

There is no difference in meaning between (29a) and (29b), (30) and (31), and (34) and (35). The verbal proclitics are marked by their floating characteristic feature and never create any ambiguity.

9.6 THE CAUSATIVE/APPLICATIVE

The distancing of the host from its clitic is not restricted to body division class marker proclitics. It can also occur in the case of causative constructions where the causative proclitic can be distanced from the verb root. The causative/applicative morpheme may be considered as body division class marker proclitic number 1, i.e., $a = \sim ta = \sim ata =$ because of its homophonous nature with CLASS 1. However, there are some significant constraints. The causative morpheme attaches to all kinds of verbs regardless of the fact that they are related to the concept of 'emission' as expected of verbs taking the number 1 proclitic. Secondly, it precedes independent verbs, those that are free from any attachment of proclitics, as well as dependent verbs. At the most, one can speculate that the causative morpheme $ta =$ and its variant forms were derived from the body division class marker CL 1 $a = \sim ta =$ and later have been grammaticalised as causation. However, we do not have any proof thereof. Let us now consider causative and applicative morphemes in detail: the valency-increasing phenomenon.

PGA employs two strategies to derive causative or applicative forms. One is by using the morphological causative and the other is by the periphrastic causative. The valency-increasing morpheme, i.e., the causative, applicative, or transitiviser, morpheme $ta =$ or $ata =$ is prefixed to the verb root and is thus infixes between the verbal proclitic and the verb root, e.g. $e = bi:ne$ 'to think' but $e = ta = bi:ne$ 'make someone think' or 'remember.' This is applicable to the verbs that obligatorily take proclitics and are dependent verbs. The causative proclitic attaches directly to the verb form if it is an independent verb without any class proclitic. Let us discuss them.

9.6.1 *The Morphological Causative*

The morphological causative is derived by attaching the causative proclitic to the verbal forms. Some examples are given here:

- | | | | |
|-----|------------------------------|-------------------|--------------------------------|
| (a) | <i>i=ata=ole</i> | CL 5=APPL='see' | 'show' |
| (b) | <i>e=ta=bij^{he}</i> | CL 5=CAUS='drown' | 'sink' (transitive) |
| (c) | <i>e=ta=ife</i> | CL 5=CAUS='give' | 'keep' |
| (d) | <i>e=ta=julue</i> | CL 5=CAUS='cold' | 'cool (it)' |
| (e) | <i>e=ta=lek</i> | CL 5=CAUS='down' | 'bring something down from up' |
| (f) | <i>e=ta=lofa</i> | CL 5=CAUS='wear' | 'make someone wear (clothes)' |
| (g) | <i>e=ta=meja</i> | CL 5=CAUS='stick' | 'stick something' |
| (h) | <i>a=ta=uno</i> | CL 1=CAUS='sit' | 'seat someone' |
| (i) | <i>e=ta=toya</i> | CL 5=CAUS='stand' | 'erect' |

In the case of the verbs with a class marker 5 proclitic signifying internalised action such as *e=k^hole* 'laugh', or self-directed action with the reflexive *em-beno* 'sleep', the verbal proclitic or verbal reflexive prefix is dropped and the causative *ta=* or *ata=* is directly added to the verb root as in the following.

- | | | | |
|------|--|-------------------------------|------------------------------|
| (36) | <i>surme</i> | <i>nu</i> | <i>ta=k^hole-o</i> |
| | Surme | Nu | CAUS=laugh-DST.PST |
| | 'Surme made Nu laugh.' | | |
| (37) | <i>ara:mlifu</i> | <i>aranfulut^hu</i> | <i>ta=beno-ø</i> |
| | REFL.sister | her younger brother | APPL/CAUS=sleep-PST |
| | 'The sister put her younger brother to sleep.' | | |

The position of the causative morpheme is not rigidly fixed and it can be prefixed to the entire verb form, i.e., a combination of the verbal proclitic and the verb root (39). If the indirect object is not specified overtly in a clause and the verb has a causative marker *ta=* it implies its latent presence (40), e.g.:

- | | | | |
|------|--|----------------------------|---------------------------------|
| (38) | <i>u</i> | <i>k^hider-e</i> | <i>ut=p^hay-om</i> |
| | 3SG | coconut-ABS | CL 4=dry-NPST |
| | 'He dries coconuts.' | | |
| (39) | <i>u</i> | <i>k^hider-e</i> | <i>ta=ut=p^hay-om</i> |
| | 3SG | coconut-ABS | CAUS=CL 4=dry-NPST |
| | 'He dries coconuts (collectively with the help of someone).' | | |

The causative morpheme can distance itself from the verb with the direct object or a whole noun phrase preceding the verb form. For example:

$e=k^hu-(v)e$ 'drink' (imperative)

- (40) $ata=([ino]_{obj})$ k^hu-ve
 CAUS=water drink-IMP
 'Make (him) drink (water).'

- (41) $ata=[ino-julu]_{NP}$ k^hu-ve
 CAUS=cold-water drink-IMP
 'Make (him) drink cold water.'

There are instances of both indirect and direct object incorporation between the causative morpheme and the verb form. Consider below where (b) and (c) are variants of (a).

- (42) (a) $th=a=mimi$ t^hire $ino ta=k^hue-\emptyset$
 1SG=CL 1.POSS=mother child water CAUS=drink-PST
 (b) $th=a=mimi$ t^hire $ta=ino- k^hue-\emptyset$
 1SG=CL 1.POSS=mother child CAUS=water-drink-PST
 (c) $th=a=mimi-ta=$ $t^hire-ino-k^hue-\emptyset$
 1SG-CL 1.POSS=mother-CAUS= child-water-drink-PST
 'My mother fed the baby the water.' or
 'The baby drank the water with the help of my mother.'

In sentence (42c), the second reading, i.e., 'The baby drank the water with the help of my mother' is more appropriate than the first one 'my mother fed the baby the water' as $\{ta=\}$ is homophonous with the instrumental suffix $\{-ta\}$.² Also refer to §5.2 on case.

In the following example (43), the proclitic $i=$ is distanced from its host by the intervening object noun *kitab* 'book' as well as the CAUS-ATIVE MARKER $ta=$. In the next example (44), the CAUSATIVE MARKER $ta=$ is moved further from the verb incorporating the object noun, with the verbal proclitic still being distanced from its host. In short, the causative proclitic $ta=$ or $ata=$ is moveable and can be distanced from the verb form

² This appears to be the 'case on verbs.' That is, "the meaning of a morpheme used in different morphosyntactic contexts changes because of the context itself. . . . Such 'versatile' cases can express (i) temporal, causal and other relationships between clauses" Aikhenvald (2008: 565).

and the object noun can be incorporated between the two bound morphemes, the verbal and the causative proclitics and the verb root.

i=ole 'see'

- (43) *t^hu buli i= kitab ta=ole-ø*
 1SG Buli CL 5= book CAUS=see-PST
 'I showed Buli the book.'

- (44) *t^hu buli i= ta=kitab-ole-ø*
 1SG Buli CL 5= CAUS=book-see-PST
 'I showed Buli the book.'
 'I showed the book to Buli.'

As seen earlier, proclitics and object clitics have the tendency to be attracted by the pronominal proclitic to generate a phonological word. In the following example (45) the causative proclitic, like any other class marker proclitic is attracted towards the pronoun. Hence, it attaches to the preceding pronominal form *t^ho* 'I.' The causative *ta=* ~ *ata=* can also be attached to the preceding word if it happens to be one ending in a vowel. Fusion of a causative proclitic to a word on its left creates a word boundary³ that ends at *ta*. This is observed in fast speech.

- (45) *lico t^hota= ŋolɔ-k-o*
 Lico 1SG.CAUS cry-FA-DST.PST
 'Lico made me cry.'

- (46) *a=lico t^hire-bi ta=t^hu-e*
 CL 1=Lico child-ABS.APPL=born-IMM.PST
 'Lico gave birth to a child.'

- (47) *mona-i inu juluta=k^hu-e*
 Mona-DAT water cold.CAUS=drink-IMP
 'Make Mona drink cold water.'

The applicative/causative *ta=* can also be distanced from the verb root and can move to the beginning of the verb phrase as in the following sentences:

³ The word boundary is measured by the presence of a pause. Thus, speakers give a pause between *t^hota* and the following verb *ŋol* 'cry.'

- (48) *tʰu tar-e ta=tʰu-i=noku-ø*
 1SG wire-ABS APPL=1SG-CL 5=strengthen-PST
 'I strengthened the wire.'
- (49) *tʰu a=jo ta=tʰu-i=kon-be*
 1SG CL 1=Jo CAUS=1SG-CL 5=rise-NPST
 'I make Jo rise/wake up.'

Sentences (48–49) are very interesting as the causative proclitic begins the verb phrase which has the incorporated subject *tʰu* 'I' as well as the information about the object indicated by the verbal proclitic. This phenomenon is unusual across the languages of the world. The semantic difference between the CAUS proclitic preceding the verb phrase and the one with the default position of the pre-verbal root as in (47) could not be elicited because of the moribund nature of the language and the low frequency of such constructions.

9.6.2 *Periphrastic Causatives*

PGA offers periphrastic causatives by employing the word for 'ask' / 'tell' in addition to the causative morpheme *ta=*. The subject of the verb 'ask' is the CAUSER of the event, the object of the verb 'ask' is the CAUSEE which serves the A function and the object of the caused event serves the O function.

- (50) *a=kaba a=buro ik=jira-l a=bie*
 CL 1=Kaba CL 1=Buro OBJ=tell-CONV CL 1=Bie
ta=e=lukʰ-o
 CAUS=CL 5=pickup-DST.PST
 CAUSER CAUSEE (A) CAUSED (O)
 'Kaba asked Buro to pick up Bie.'

Many speakers were observed dropping the causative morpheme *ta=* and instead used the verb for 'ask' in the first clause for causative reading. Since the second clause lacks the overt subject in most of the constructions the sentences appear to be sequential in nature.

- (51) *a=boa a=nu ik=jira taton-e it=firo-ø*
 CL 1=Boa CL 1=Nu OBJ=told courtyard-ABS OBJ=wash-PST
 'Boa asked Nu to wash the courtyard.'

- (52) *a=boa a=meo ik=jira-l iku=belij-ø*
 CL 1=Boa CL 1=Meo OBJ=say-CONV OBJ=cut-PST
 'Boa asked Meo to cut (the tree).' Or
 'Having Boa asked, Meo cut the tree.'
- (53) *a=raja unni-jira-l nu iku=belij-ø*
 CL 1=king people-say-CONV people OBJ=cut-PST
 'The king made the people cut (the tree).' or
 'The king got the tree cut by asking them.'

Another strategy used to form causatives was observed in the speech of Boa Sr., our Bo speaker. Consider the following sentence where the verb 'ask' terminates the sentence but carries the meaning of causation of the event. The caused event is in the non-finite nominalised form.

- (54) *lico t^h=i at-bi fere-bi liwo-ø*
 Lico 1SG=DAT wood-ABS cut-NMLZ ask-PST
 'Lico made me cut the wood.'
- (55) *lico t^{hi} ηole liwo*
lico t^h=i ηol-e liwo-ø
 Lico 1SG=DAT cry-NMLZ ask-PST
 'Lico made me cry.'

As these constructions were not shared by the other speakers, one can speculate that this was a feature of the Bo language, now extinct as we lost Boa, Sr., the last speaker of the language, in 2010.

To summarise the discussion so far, a very significant fact about PGA is: dependency in PGA does not necessarily license adjacency. Bound root forms can be bound long-distance with clitics. The distancing of these bound forms does not bring any change in meaning.

9.7 FORMATIVE AFFIXES

All verb forms that end in an open syllable are followed by a single consonant *-b*, or *-k* or *-l* as a formative affix before the TAM morphemes are attached to them.⁴ This consonant can never terminate the verbal form.

⁴ In my earlier works on the language (Abbi 2006a, 2006b, and 2009) I had considered these formative affixes as verb class markers with some specific meanings. A closer look into the language and subsequent visits to the field revealed that these are phonetic elements which serve as the linkers between the verb root and the TAM markings.

Hence, its status in the grammar is that of an infix. The variations between these forms are not conditioned by any phonological or semantic environment. They appear to be remnants of various dialectal variations which came together to form PGA. The author has observed that these are occasionally dropped in current speech. We will use the non-past form or the imperative mood marker to explain this phenomenon. Thus, the form for 'goes' is constituted of [a proclitic] [verb root] [the formative affix] and the [non-past tense morpheme *-om*]. Consider:

- (56) *ut=cone-b-om*
 CL 4=go-FA-NPST
 '(He) goes', 'leaves.'

- (57) *iji-b/k-om*
 eat-FA-NPST
 '(He) eats.'

- (58) *ie-k-om*
 give-FA-NPST
 '(He) gives'

- (59) *et=mo-k-e*
 OBJ=leave-FA-IMP
 'leave (it)' (IMP)

The verb root ending in a closed syllable, i.e. ending in a consonant, does not take the formative affix and the TAM suffixes are directly attached to the verb root.

- (60) *but^h-o*
 fall-DST.PST
 '(it) fell.'

- (61) *it=fir-e*
 OBJ=wash-IMP
 'Wash it.'

- (62) *o cokbi it=coŋ-o*
 3SG turtle OBJ=find-DST.PST
 'He found the turtle.'

- (63) *u k^hider-bit= bol-om*
 3SG coconut-ABS.OBJ= scrape-NPST
 'He scrapes the coconut.'

9.8 TENSE, ASPECT AND MOOD (TAM)

9.8.1 *Past Tense*

The language makes a distinction between the past and the non-past, the latter representing the present and the future, and is symbolised by {-*om*}.

Following Dahl (1985: 23–26), the non-past tense can have a basic meaning and an extended meaning which is decided by the context. As we shall observe later in the chapter, this is also true for PGA.

PGA has four different past-tense categories, each specified differently.

- o* distant past
- a* ~ -*e* immediate past
- ø* simple past
- il* ~ -*l* It is mainly used as a past tense marker in a narrative style to show ongoing events in the past.

The immediate past refers to an action or state that took place a few hours prior to the time of utterance. Any other event beyond this time period is distant past. The unmarked past, or when the verb occurs in the root form without any marking (symbolised by *ø* in the grammar), indicates simple past without the distant or immediate readings. It is also used for simple statements that refer to a time anterior to the speech event. In some ways sentences marked by *ø* signify an incomplete action or presume that something else happened after that past event.

The unmarked past and the one marked for narration -*il*/-*l*, are homophonous to the verbal form in the subordinate clause indicating the adverbial or CONVERBAL function of ‘cause’, ‘manner’, ‘after’ and ‘while.’ Refer to §10.5.1 for details.

The most common and widely used past tense marker is /-*o*/. It has the greatest frequency of occurrence in our database. In rare cases, some speakers used this even when the action was not undertaken in the distant past.

Tense markings are the terminal elements in the verbal form. As explained earlier, the tense markings are suffixed to the verb root + formative affix (if present). Consider:

- (64) *tara=sulu* *taŋtɔ-e* *tʰit-pʰile-k-o*
 CL 6=later year-ABS land.OBJ-teeth-FA-DST.PST
 ‘The tsunami came last year.’

- (65) *e=tei-k^ha tofa ɛmp^hil-o*
 CL 5=fever-SPEC boy die-DST.PST
 'The boy who had a fever died (sometime ago).'

Let us consider a few sentences to elucidate constructions with a zero past tense marker.

- (66) *nu aka-uno-ø*
 Nu 3SG-sit-PST
 'Nu sat down.'

- (67) *o tole iebi-ø*
 3SG potato bring-PST
 'He took/brought the potatoes.'

- (68) *u k^hider-e utun-toa e=mok-ø*
 3SG coconut-ABS REFL-brother CL 5=give-PST
 'He gave the coconut to his brother.'

- (69) *a=boa a=meo ik=jira-l k^hider-e iku=belij-ø*
 CL 1=Boa CL 1=MEO OBJ=say-CONV coconut-ABS OBJ=cut-PST
 'Boa asked Meo to cut the coconut.' or
 'After being told by Boa, Meo cut the coconut.'

- (70) *t^ho-ŋa= tɛk^ho-bi ik=jira-ø*
 1SG-2SG.CL 1= language-ABS OBJ=speak-PST
 'I spoke in your language.'

Verbs can be compounded with the final verb taking a zero past tense marker, e.g.:

- (71) *du bo⁵ o lɛc.ik= nɔne ince-ø*
 remaining 3SG arrow-OBJ= search go after-PST
 'He went to search for the remaining arrows.'

The following examples indicate the immediate past.

- (72) *u t^h=i ino-bi tɛf-a*
 3SG 1SG=DAT water-ABS give-IMM.PST
 'He gave me water.'

⁵ It is a combination of /du/ 'deictic for invisible distance' and /bo/ 'and', the conjunction.

- (73) *atto ra-bi t^hambik^hir t^hu eol-a*
 EMPH pig-ABS 1SG.morning 1SG see-IMM.PST
 'I saw the same pig this morning.'

Another feature that caught our attention was that some speakers, especially the Khora speaker, used the *-e* suffix indiscriminately for the immediate past tense (sentence 74 and 75 below) as well as for the imperative mood (see §9.8.4). Consider:

- (74) *u t^hu it=mok-e*
 3SG 1SG OBJ=give-IMM.PST
 'He gave it to me.'
- (75) *a=joe-e a=nu-co-ta k^hider-bi ie-b-e*
 CL 1=JO-ERG CL 1=Nu-near-ABL coconut-ABS take-FA-IMM.PST
 'Jo took away the coconut from Nu.'

As stated above, the fourth type of the past marker *-il ~ l* is used in a narrative style. Refer to the narrative text given at the end of the grammar. Its usage as an adverbial subordination with the meaning of 'after' has been termed CONVERB in subordinate clauses (79, 80). For further discussion refer to §10.5.1. Consider the following sentences extracted from a folk tale:

- (76) *u tun bo-kalui-il*
 3SG REFL heart-break-NRR.PST
 'His was heart-broken.' / 'He became melancholic.'
- (77) *u ne boi-(e)m-il*
 3SG PL marry-REC-NRR.PST
 'They got married among themselves.'
- (78) *phertajido em-boi a=kot-e ikjira-l*
 Phertajido REFL-wife CL 1=Kot-ABS told-NRR.PST
 'Phertajido asked his wife Kot.'
- (79) *bo lec-ik= kac-il o lec-it=cɔŋ-ø mino-tara cɛt^hul*
 and arrow-OBJ= make-CONV 3SG arrow-OBJ=find-PST potato-under roots
 'Having made more arrows [he went to search for more of the shot arrows]
 he found the arrow in the root of a potato plant.'
- (80) *o it=cɔŋ-il kot e=mɛle t^h(i)it=cɔŋ-o*
 3SG OBJ=find-CONV soil CL 5=fine land-OBJ=find-DST.PST
 'Having found it (the arrow) he found very fine soil.'

9.8.2 *Non-Past Tense*

As mentioned earlier, there is one suffix *-om* that is used both for the future and present as well as for continuous actions or events.

- (81) *t^hu tɔp^hɔ-l-ɔm*
 1SG bathe-FA-NPST
 'I am going to take a bath.' or 'I am bathing.'
- (82) *t^h=ot= t^he t^hɛ-b-om*
 1SG-CL 4= hungry-FA-NPST
 'I am hungry.'
- (83) *ɲ=aram marako-be tamtam akana-k-om*
 2SG=REFL quiet-IMP Tamtam eat-FA-NPST
 'Don't speak, Tamtam is eating.'

The non-past is not necessarily a primary deictic temporal reference. It may refer to various types of imperfective situations with the moment of speech as the reference point. Hence, it includes:

- (i) ongoing activities
- (ii) generic situations
- (iii) habitual situations
- (iv) future situations

Hence, the non-past tense *-om* signifies present imperfective situations as well as an event that is yet to take place.

9.8.3 *Aspect*

The aspectual functions of 'perfective', 'iterative', and 'prospective' in PGA are expressed by adverbial constructions and not by an aspect marker added to the verb root. Let us first consider the use of adverbial constructions.

- (84) *t^h=ara=fulu-t^hu karak^ha kɔil bat^h-il jicer-bi*
 1SG=CL 6.POSS=sister 3SG.said yesterday night-LOC rain-ABS
kanɔro-k-e
 frequently-FA-IMM.PST
 'My younger sister said that it rained frequently last night.'
- (85) *a=t^hire thu kɔlot*
 CL 1=child born just now
 'The child is born just now.'

- (86) *tet^hamo* *ɲɛr=cɔk-bi* (*e*)*ole-p^ho*
 Many days 2SG.CL 2.POSS=face-ABS see-NEG
 ‘(I) have not seen your face for a long time.’
- (87) *dɛk^ho* *reya* *kona-bi* *iji-k-o*
 Already Reya tendu-ABS eat-FA-DST.PST
 ‘Reya has already eaten tendu.’

Aspect can mark the stage of an action. The prospective aspect is indicated by the combination of the verb *ut=juk^ho* ‘about to’ which specifies anticipatory action, and the verb in a nominalised form (refer to §10.5.4 on action nominals).

- (88) *t^hu* *boa:-l* *tuttara:-l* *t^h=auno-bi-(u)t=* *juk^ho-ø*
 1SG floor-LOC on-LOC 1SG=sit-NMLZ-CL 4= about to-PST
 ‘I was going to sit on the floor.’
- (89) *thire* *ɲolo-bi-(u)t=* *juk^ho-ø*
 Child cry-NMLZ-CL 4= about to-PST
 ‘The child was about to cry.’

The other aspect marker *-me* which indicates a habitual or generic meaning is attested in the Bo language. Other speakers were not seen using this suffix. In our database there are very few examples of *-me*. It has been noticed that most of the current speakers use *-om* for indicating the iterative and generic as well as habitual meaning.⁶ As stated earlier in §9.8.2 the non-past tense marker indicates several meanings and one of them could be ‘generic.’ The following are examples from Bo.

- (90) *eɛran* *tɛro* *nuk^he-me*
 Sea wave huge approach-HAB
 ‘The big wave rises again and again.’
- (91) *t^hu* *maram-bo* *p^ho-me*
 1SG self-heart NEG-HAB/NPST
 ‘I don’t know.’
- (92) *bharat-il* *nu* *rɛfe* *i=iji-me*
 Bharat-LOC people rice CL 5=eat-HAB/NPST
 ‘People eat rice in India.’

⁶ It is not uncommon to use present tense forms for generic or habitual meaning in languages, e.g., Hindi *mən məndir jati hun* ‘I go to temple (everyday).’

- (93) *uroʔɔi-l ɲo tɛc-ta ɲo-bi ɛm-bano-me*
 Old time-LOC house leaf-INSTR house-ABS REFL-make-HAB
 'In old times houses were made of leaves.'
- (94) *me tʰi-bi it=pʰile-l m=ar(a)=ɛm-bo pʰo-me*
 1PL place-ABS OBJ=swell-CONV 1PL=CL 6=REFL-heart NEG-HAB
 'We had no knowledge (when the Tsunami came and) the place got inundated.'

The post verbal {-*me*} is interpreted as a repeated action. The habitual, thus, is an aspect which expresses action that takes place habitually or repeatedly. It does not refer to a particular event.

9.8.4 Mood

Only one marker of mood was attested by all speakers, viz., imperative. The imperative mood is symbolised by {-*e* ~ -*be*}.⁷ It is attached to the formative affix or to the verb root as the case may be. Consider:

- (95) *u kʰider-e kʰu-a a=ʔoʔa untɛle-be*
 3SG coconut-ABS drink-IMM.PST CL 1=boy call-IMP
 'Call the boy who drank coconut (water).'
- (96) *ɲa= uno-b-e*
 2SG.CL 1= sit-FA-IMP
 'You sit down.'
- (97) *tʰ=e bet-b-e*
 1SG=ABS press-FA-IMP
 'Please press me a bit.'
- (98) *aʔ iku-b/k-e*
 Wood burn-FA-IMP
 'Burn the firewood.'
- (99) *ata=metɛ kʰu-e*
 CAUS=milk drink-IMP
 'Feed him milk.'

⁷ The form -*be* is homophonous with the copula *be*.

Table 9.2. Verbs with Formative affixes, tense and mood suffixes

	Verb	Non-past	Various past markers	Imperative	English gloss
1	<i>cone</i>	<i>cone-b-om</i>	<i>cone-ø, cone-b-o</i>	<i>cone-b-e</i>	go, leave
2	<i>na</i>	<i>ana-b-om</i>	<i>ana-ø, na-b-o</i>	<i>ana-b-e</i>	bark, eat
3	<i>ɲol</i>	<i>ɲol-om</i>	<i>ɲol-o</i>	<i>ɲol-e</i>	cry
4	<i>caɬ</i>	<i>caɬ-om</i>	<i>caɬ-o</i>	<i>caɬ-b-e</i>	do
5	<i>dɛ</i>	<i>dɛ-b-om</i>	<i>dɛ-b-o</i>	<i>dɛ-b-e</i>	shut up
6	<i>bofo</i>	<i>bofo-b-om</i>	<i>bofo-b-o</i>	<i>bofo-b-e</i>	beat, hit
7	<i>ɕɔlo</i>	<i>ɕɔlo-k-om</i>	<i>ɕɔlo-k-o</i>	<i>ɕɔlo-ke</i>	break
8	<i>ɪye</i>	<i>ɪye-k-om</i>	<i>ɪye-k-o</i>	<i>ɪye-k-e</i>	catch
9	<i>iji</i>	<i>iji-k-om</i>	<i>iji-k-o</i>	<i>iji-k-e</i>	eat
10	<i>juvu</i>	<i>juvu-k-om</i>	<i>juvu-k-o</i>	<i>juvu-ke</i>	fly
11	<i>fɔlo</i>	<i>fɔlo-k-om</i>	<i>fɔlo-k-o</i>	<i>fɔlo-k-e</i>	hang
12	<i>tɔle</i>	<i>tɔle-k-om</i>	<i>tɔle-k-o</i>	<i>tɔle-k-e</i>	mix
13	<i>uno</i>	<i>uno-b/k-om</i>	<i>uno-k/b-o</i>	<i>uno-k/b-e</i>	sit
14	<i>beno</i>	<i>beno-b/k-om</i>	<i>beno-b/k-o</i>	<i>beno-b/k-e</i>	sleep
15	<i>eole</i>	<i>eole-b-om</i>	<i>eol-a, eole-b-o</i>	<i>eole-b-e</i>	see
16	<i>lele</i>	<i>lele-b/k-om</i>	<i>lele-b/k-o</i>	<i>lele-k/b-e</i>	swing
17	<i>ɛmp^hil</i>	<i>ɛmp^hil-om</i>	<i>ɛmp^hil-o</i>	<i>ɛmp^hil-e</i>	die
18	<i>araɕ^hul</i>	<i>araɕ^hul-om</i>	<i>araɕ^hul-o</i>	<i>araɕ^hul-e</i>	kick
19	<i>ɕ^hitbol</i>	<i>ɕ^hitbol-om</i>	<i>ɕ^hitbol-o</i>	<i>ɕ^hitbol-e</i>	search the ground/jungle
20	<i>kac</i>	<i>kac-om</i>	<i>kac-il</i>	<i>kac-e</i>	make

By prefixing various adverbial words to the verb with the imperative {-*be* ~ -*e*} suffix, one can get a reading of the hortative and optative mood.⁸ Thus:

- (100) *ak^{he}* *ɕ^hu* *beno-be*
 For a while 1SG sleep-IMP
 'Let me sleep for a while.'

The following table lists some of the forms discussed above.

⁸ We found only one example of the subjunctive mood *koliye* in our database as shown in example (106) in the next chapter. Several attempts to obtain similar sentences failed as speakers preferred to use paratactic constructions. Hence, we presume this mood marker is no longer used.

9.9 THE COPULA *BE* OR *Jiyo*

Languages offer nonverbal predicates with copula occurring with noun, verb and adjective in the predicate slot (Dryer 2007: 224). PGA also offers nonverbal predicates: nominal predicates, adjectival predicates and locative predicates which take the uninflected form of the copula.

- (101) *peje nyo be*
 Peje home COP
 'Peje is at home.'
- (102) *di t^{hi} nɔl bi*
 this place good COP
 'This is a good place.'

The copula can also exist with negative verb *p^{ho}* as in:

- (103) *t^h=ɛ=cul tɛk^{ho}tɛc p^{ho} be*
 2SG=CL 2.POSS=near money NEG COP
 'I don't have any money.'

The *be* or *bi* copula never takes tense, mood and aspect categories.

jiyo 'exist'

PGA has a related word *jiyo* signifying 'existence' of an entity with reference to a 'location' at a particular point in time.

- (104) *fup macan tuttral jiyo*
 basket table under exist
 'The basket is under the table.'
- (105) *akacotoj.tot=no tɛr=cok^{he}-l t^h=ut=no jiyo*
 doctor CL 4.POSS=house CL 2=front-LOC 1SG=CL 4.POSS=house exist
 'My house is in front of the doctor's house.'

The word *jiyo* ~ *jiyu* can optionally take the copula as in the following.

- (106) *er=ɲolka biu cul jiyu (be)*
 CL 2=matchbox candle near exist (COP)
 'The matchbox is near the candle.'

Table 9.3. Verbal affixes in PGA

Types of affixes	Prefixes	Infixes	Suffixes
Formative		<i>-b-, -k-, -l-</i>	
Reflexive (moveable)	<i>ɛm-, em-</i>	<i>-ɛm-, -em-</i>	<i>-ɛm-, -em-</i>
Past tense			<i>-o-, -a-, -ø-, -il</i>
Non-past tense			<i>-om-, -e</i>
Imperative			<i>-be-, -e</i>
Habitual			<i>-me</i>
Conjunctive participle			<i>-il-, -l</i>
Action nominal			<i>-bi</i>

- (107) *tajiocor fare-l jiyō (be)*
 fish sea-LOC exist (COP)
 'Fish live in the sea.'

As should be clear by now, the PGA verb does not agree with any of the arguments in the sentence. Hence, the verb form remains the same in the following sentence.

- (108) *Ram/sita/thire-n kona-bi iji-om*
 Ram/Sita/child-PL tendu-ABS eat-NPST
 'Ram/Sita/children are eating tendu fruit.'

To summarise the discussion, one can present the following table. All verbal affixes and their variants are given in the table. Object clitics and body division class marker clitics which precede the verbs are not included for obvious reasons as each of them will vary according to the nature of the verb. Causative proclitics are also not shown here as the table lists all the affixes.

The moveable affixes have the potentiality to occur as prefixes as well as infixes.

9.10 THE VERBS 'COME' AND 'GO'

While collecting data for PGA, it was noticed that the two verbs 'come' and 'go' had several forms, each with a distinct meaning. They occur in both forms, dependent and independent. The latter, the ones without the body division class marker proclitics, are more common. Readers may find this list interesting from the point of view of ethnolinguistic information. Some of the structures have become obsolete as speakers who used them are no more in this world.

- (a) *ci* 'come in or go to someone'
- (b) *ce* (Bo) 'come in or go to someone', 'go towards'
- (c) *aka=ci* 'to follow someone'
- (d) *unci* 'to come or go to someone'
- (e) *inci* 'to come or go with a purpose'
- (f) *uni* 'come back from somewhere'
- (g) *ɛno* 'come or go aimlessly'
- (h) *t^hu* 'exit'
- (i) *meli* 'return'
- (j) *mo* 'leave'
- (k) *ut=cone* 'leave', 'exit', 'go'
- (l) *ɬɔl* 'roam around'
- (m) *tɛbol* 'run away'
- (n) *e=maɬ* 'run (fast)'
- (o) *aka-nar* 'come frequently'
- (p) *k^huro* 'come here (imperative)'
- (q) *bel* 'pass away', 'leave'
- (r) *aka-ao* 'come with someone'
- (s) *loto* 'come again and again'
- (t) *ɬ^hik^hamol* 'come immediately'
- (u) *ɛr=ɬɔk* 'come down slowly'
- (v) *p^horo* 'come close'

The exact meaning of every form is not very clear. Sometimes the mixed nature of the language gives us more forms than necessary. Consider some of the examples.

- (109) *ɲu kotra-kak ci-b-im meɲ e=likh-om*
 2SG room-inside come in-FA-PROHB 1PL CL 5=uncomfortable-NPST
 'Don't enter the room we feel uncomfortable/shy.'

- (110) *cay bi inci-k-om*
 Q ABS go for-FA-NPST
 'What are you going for?'

- (111) *ɬ^hu uni-b-om*
 1SG come back-FA-NPST
 'I will come back.'

As can be observed, very few of these take proclitics and thus, are free forms. Readers may refer to the dictionary of the language (Abbi 2012) for the semantics of verb forms and their variations.

To summarise, a verb root in PGA is free to take any of the seven body division class markers or any object clitic. It is the combination of the proclitic and the verb root which gives the complete meaning to a sentence.

CHAPTER TEN

SYNTACTIC ORGANISATION

INTRODUCTION

Present-day Great Andamanese (PGA), as we have seen so far, has a simple syntactic structure. Most of the complexities that exist are at the morphological level. Speakers keep their sentences short and conjoined by pauses. We shall discuss some of the structures that represent various syntactic organisational characteristics in this chapter.

10.1 WORD ORDER

PGA is a verb-final language and the order of the constituents is SOV (1). However, there is some flexibility in the ordering of the word, not only because of focus, but also because the speakers were observed varying the order freely. As the language is not used anymore it was difficult to reach any statistical analysis of the preference of aberration from the prototypical SOV pattern.

- (1) *ram konabi jiyom*
ram konabi iji-om
Ram tendu-ABS eat-NPST
'Ram is eating a tendu fruit.'

10.1.1 *Adjectives and Nouns*

Adjectives and intensifiers follow the noun they modify. However, in inalienable possession the BODY DIVISION possessive marker precedes the possessed element. For details see Chapter 6 on possession and §3.4. The following phrase will clarify the picture.

- (2) *ʔele taratom aka:lep^ho*
ʔele taratom aka:le p^ho-ø
elephant old die NEG-PST
'The old elephant did not die.'

- (3) *sita kona p^huŋ-bi iji-om*
 Sita tendu-ripe-ABS eat-NPST
 'Sita is eating a ripe tendu.'

- (4) *lico er=co*
 Lico CL 2.POSS=head
 'Lico's head.'

The direct object is next to the verb on its left. Hence the ordering is S IO DO V.

- (5) *u utuntoa k^hidere umuk*
 u u-tun-toa k^hider-e u-muk-ø
 3SG 3SG-REFL-brother coconut-ABS 3SG-give-PST
 'He gave a coconut to his brother.'

If the DO under consideration is modified by an adjective then the whole noun phrase precedes the verb.

- (6) *t^hui rat^homo tɛfulu ijo.*
 t^hu i= ra t^homo tɛfulu iji-o.
 1SG CL 5= pig-flesh stale eat-DST.PST
 'I ate stale pork.'

This is true of the constructions with intensifiers too.

- (7) *kɔt e=mele tɛcek t^hit=cɔŋ-o*
 Soil CL 5=fine much earth.OBJ=find-DST.PST
 '(He) found very fine soil on the ground.'

An NP with multiple adjectives precedes the verb form.

- (8) *kɔt e=mele e=nɔl t^hit=cɔŋ-o*
 Soil CL 5=fine CL 5=good earth.OBJ=find-DST.PST
 '(He) found good and fine soil on the ground.'

In the case of multiple adjectives, each adjective is preceded by its appropriate proclitic as in the examples (8 and 9).

- (9) *aka=p^hup ut=tɛŋ e=cay*
 his=sputum CL 4=odour CL 5=bad
 'His bad smelly sputum.'

The order among elements at the same level differs from one group of languages to another (Shopen 2007: 111–113). Our database of PGA does not contain demonstratives, adjectives, quantifiers and numerals in the same phrase. Since adjectives and numerals follow nouns but demonstratives precede nouns we have a mixed ordering system with elements at the same level.

- (10) (*q̣uini*) *kita:b biray* *taterbui-bi* *boʃho-ø*
 (3DU.DIS.VIS) books red two-ABS fall-PST
 ‘Those two red books fell down.’

Since the language has a dual demonstrative pronoun there is no need to have the number ‘two.’ Alternatively, the dual demonstrative pronoun can be dropped as it is redundant.

10.1.2 *Genitive*

The genitive *-ico ~ -iʃo* is attached to the possessor noun or pronoun. However as discussed in Chapter 6, the inalienable possessions are preceded by possessive BODY DIVISION PROCLITICS. Thus (11) has genitive suffix but (12) has possessive proclitic.

- (11) *q̣u-iʃo* *cokbi*
 3SG.DIS.INVIS-GEN turtle
 ‘His turtle.’
- (12) *cokbi* *er=co*
 turtle CL 2=head
 ‘Turtle’s head.’

Refer to §6.7 in the chapter on possession for details.

10.1.3 *Case Markers*

As discussed in Chapter 5 case markers appear in the post-NP position. For details refer to §5.2.

- (13) *afyame bəs kuttaral konabit beliŋo*
 α=fyam-e bas kotr-al kona-bi it=beliŋ-o
 CL 1=Shyam-ERG bus inside-LOC tendu-ABS OBJ=cut-DST.PST
 ‘Shyam cut the tendu fruit in the bus.’

However, the body class marker *a=* always precedes animate arguments as in the case of *a=fyam* above. If the noun is modified by an adjective or a quantifier or numeral, the case marker appears at the end of the NP as in sentence (19) below. The demonstrative precedes the noun. Also refer to §7.2 and §8.1.

- (14) *di kɔbɔ ot=no be*
 3SG.DIST.VIS Kobo CL 4=house COP
 'That is Kobo's house.'
- (15) *ɖu no buruin tot =bɔl jio*
 3SG.DIS.INVIS house mountain CL 4=behind EXIST
 'That house is behind the mountain.'
- (16) *ɖune ra mote lobe*
 3PL.DIS.INVIS pig fat (<Hindi) EXIST
 'Those pigs are fat.'

10.1.4 Numerals and Quantifiers

As expected, numerals and other quantifiers follow the nouns they modify.

- (17) *tʰu tajio etcalo cɔpʰe ji- k-o*
 1SG fish a lot enough eat-FA-DST.PST
 'I ate a lot of fish.'
- (18) *golaɬ ɛr=ulu entoplo nɔl pʰo-be*
 Golaɬ CL 2.POSS=eyes single good not-COP
 'Golaɬ's one eye is not good.'
- (19) *kita:b taterbuiɓi ɬobo*
 kita:b taterbui-bi ɬob-o
 book two-ABS steal-DST.PST
 'Two books were stolen.'

10.1.5 Degree Words

Degree words like intensifiers, such as 'more', 'much', 'very' follow the modified. This is found in the superlative constructions too.

- (20) *ɲɛcul julu cɔpʰebe*
 ɲɛcul julu cɔpʰe-be
 2SG-have cloth many-COP
 'You have many clothes.'

- (21) *di ino nəl totcə be*
 di ino nəl totcə be
 3SG.DIS.VIS water good very COP
 'This water is the best.'

10.1.6 *Manner Adverbs*

Manner adverbs, both derived and non-derived, precede the verb especially in imperatives. In other constructions they optionally occur in post verbal position. Also refer to §8.3.

- (22) *ŋe erentəfu iju-k-e*
 2SG slowly eat-FA-IMP
 'You eat slowly.'
- (23) *o aka-uno-l olam-o*
 3SG 3SG.CL1-sit-CONV tire-DST.PST
 'He got tired of sitting.'
- (24) *o k^hole.k= t^h=e jira-ø*
 3SG laugh.OBJ= 1SG=ABS speak-PST
 'He spoke to me laughingly.'

However, Jeru speakers, such as Surmei, always used the adverb in post-sentential position.

- (25) *ŋu cai jit (iji-it) kalemo*
 2SG why eat-OBJ soon
 'Why did you eat it so fast?'
- (26) *t^hu ŋɔʔo cɔp^hu*
 t^hu ŋɔʔo-ø cɔp^hu
 1SG swim-PST well
 'I swam well.'

10.1.7 *Temporal Adverbs*

Temporal adverbs generally occupy the sentence-initial position (27 and 28), however, they can optionally occur after the subject (29). The temporal adverb indicating 'morning' is obligatorily attached to a pronominal proclitic on its left. The appropriate proclitic (here *t^h=1SG*) represents the subject of the sentence. Also refer to §8.4.

- (27) *tʰikamo n-ɛr=cɔk-bi (e)ole-pʰo*
 For many days 2SG-CL 2.POSS=face-ABS (CL 5)=see-NEG
 ‘(I) haven’t seen your face for many days.’

- (28) *tʰ=ambikʰir tʰ=ut= cone-b-om*
 1SG=REFL.morning 1SG=CL 4= go-FA-NPST
 ‘I will go in the morning.’

- (29) *peje taraottabike tʰimikʰu ot=cɔne-k-ɔm*
 Peje early in the morning jungle CL 4=go-FA-NPST
 ‘Peje goes to the jungle early in the morning.’

10.1.8 Negative Verb

The negative verb *pʰo* always follows the main verb that it negates, but precedes the copula.

- (30) *du dillikek utcɔnepʰo*
 du dilli-kek ut=cɔne pʰo
 3SG.PROX Delhi-DIR CL 4=go NEG
 ‘He does not go to Delhi.’

For a detailed account on negation refer to §10.3 below on negation.

10.1.9 Relative Markers

The order of relative markers and nouns is intriguing as most of the speakers use two coordinated sentences such as the following without any conjunction and with gapping of the subject noun. In addition, the constructions given in (32, 33) are not very uncommon either.

- (31) *aka kʰuke utconneko*
aka-kʰu-k-e ut=cɔne-k-o
 3SG-drink-FA-IMM.PST CL 4=go-FA-DST.PST
 ‘The boy who drank went away.’ Or
 ‘It had been a while since the guy who drank it went away.’

However, one Jero speaker, Surmei, did use the relative marker *jukʰe* ~ *ukʰe* preceding the noun it modifies as in the following.

- (32) *nɔl yukʰe tɔtɔ tʰ=ut=tʰire be*
 good REL boy 1SG=CL 4=child COP
 ‘The good (one) boy is mine.’

- (33) *akauno uk^he athire t^hico k^himil be*
 aka-uno uk^he a=thire t^h=ico k^himil be
 3SG-sit REL CL 1=child 1SG=GEN friend COP
 'The child who is sitting there is my friend.'

For details consult §10.8 below on relativisation.

10.1.10 *Interrogatives*

As far as the ordering of the interrogative particle/word and its proposition are concerned, PGA allows two strategies. Languages generally make a distinction between question particles, words that signal polar questions and those which are known as WH-words, which occur in content questions. In PGA the latter occurs *in situ*, i.e., in the same position in which a corresponding non interrogative expression would occur (35). The former, i.e., the interrogative clause of yes-no questions has no specific question particle or word. Normally a declarative sentence is spoken with a rising tone to ask the yes-no question. Thus:

- (34) *ŋ=(ut) t^hire-ne nol be*
 2SG=CL 4.POSS child-PL good COP
 'Are your children fine?'

This finding is rather unusual as other languages of the Andaman, such as Jarawa and Onge (Abbi 2006a) do have two different lexemes to denote interrogative expressions and WH-words. The example for the latter is as follows.

- (35) *ŋu cay iji-k-o*
 2SG what eat-FA-DST.PST
 'What did you eat?'

We shall consider interrogatives in more detail later in §10.4.

10.1.11 *Adpositional Phrases*

The order of the verb and adpositional phrase (postpositional in this case) is the same as the order of verb and object, i.e., [PP] [V]. Consider:

- (36) *thire mite k^hudi er=ŋol-om*
 child milk for CL 2=cry-NPST
 'The child is crying for milk.'

- (37) *t^{hu} tajio-bi inci-k-om*
 1SG fish-ABS go-FA-NPST
 'I am going for food.'

10.1.12 *Variability in Word Order*

We must address the question of variability in word order in PGA. As is the case with most SOV languages, PGA also allows some flexibility, primarily for focus, in the ordering of the elements in a sentence. For instance, to indicate focus, the object noun can precede the sentence.

- (39) *a=meo ŋu ek=tero-ø*
 CL 1=Meo 2SG OBJ=push-PST
 'You pushed Meo.' or 'It was Meo that you pushed.'

Focus can also be indicated by moving the locative object before the subject.

- (40) *terkɔ otɔ port bler-ak t^{hu} t^{hu}-ø*
 Day before yesterday Port Blair-DIR 1SG reach-PST
 'I reached Port Blair the day before yesterday.'
 or 'It was the day before yesterday that I reached Port Blair.'

10.1.13 *Deviation from the Standard SOV Pattern*

PGA deviates from the prototypical SOV languages in positing valency-increasing markers such as the causative and applicative before the verb and not after the verb. Refer to §9.6 on causatives in the previous chapter for more details.

- (41) *peje t^{hire}-bi ata=ŋol-om*
 Peje child-ABS CAUS=cry-NPST
 'Peje is making the child cry.'

Another feature which does not adhere to the paradigm of verb-final languages is that body division class marker clitics do not appear after the host but before the host. Similarly, verbal object clitics attach to their hosts in a preverbal position. Hence, they have been termed as PROCLITICS in the grammar.

10.1.14 *Variability in Proclitics*

Proclitics in PGA are like prepositional words and carry their own meaning. Every content word, as we have seen so far, is attached to one of the

seven proclitics on its left. There are two interesting aspects: one, verbal proclitics are moveable and can be long distanced from their hosts as was discussed in §9.5; second, if the preceding word to the proclitic ends in an open syllable the proclitic combines with it like an enclitic in fast speech §2.5.7 and §2.5.8 or may be rendered as clitic sequencing as discussed in §3.8.3. Thus, the first line in the example below represents the phonetic realisation which is derived from the underlying form given in the second line:

- (42) *nu kona-bit belijo*
 nu kona-bi it=belij-o
 Nu kona-ABS OBJ=cut-DST.PST
 'Nu cut the Kona (fruit).' <Object clitic>
- (43) *t^hirener benobe*
 t^hire-nu er=beno-be
 child-PL CL 2=sleep-NPST
 'The children are sleeping.' <verbal clitic>
- (44) *t^ha tɛk^ho quocil temborace*
 t^h= a=tɛk^ho quoc-il tem-borac-e
 1SG= CL 1=say hear-CONV REFL-angry-IMM.PST
 'He got angry hearing me.' <nominal clitic>
- (45) *t^hu nobir k^hurobit molo*
 t^hu jo-bi ɛr=k^huro-bi it=mol-o
 1SG house-ABS CL 2=big-ABS OBJ=demand-DST.PST
 'I wanted a big house.' <adjectival clitic>

10.2 COORDINATION

Following Haspelmath (in Shopen 2007: 1), coordinate constructions have similar units that can combine in a larger unit and can have words belonging to: (a) any part of speech (verbs, nouns, adjectives, adverbs), (b) phrases (noun phrases and verb phrases), (c) subordinate clauses or (d) full sentences. Let us consider all of these here.

The conjunction *bo* is inserted between two conjoined grammatical categories. However, a more common phenomenon is to leave out the use of the conjunction, i.e., there is no overt coordinator and conjoined units are sequentially conjoined (50, 51).

10.2.1 *Nominal Coordination*

If two nouns conjoined in a coordinate construction are marked similarly for case then the entire NP takes the case marking. However, the preference is to leave the two nouns unmarked for case relations.

- (46) *sare bo akajira-bi tef-e*
 salt CONJ pepper-ABS give-IMP
 'Give salt and pepper.'
- (47) *liko bo bea kona-bit=jio-ø*
 Lico CONJ Bea kona-ABS.OBJ=eat-PST
 'Lico and Bea ate kona.'
- (48) *torɔm kajira cəkbi-t^homo ino-l e=tef-e*
 salt pepper turtle-flesh water-LOC CL 5=put-IMP
 'Put salt, pepper and turtle flesh into the water.'
- (49) *a=joe a=tong nyo -ak cone-b-om*
 CL 1=Jo CL 1=Tong home-DIR go-FA-NPST
 'Jo and Tong will go home.'

10.2.2 *Pronominal Coordination*

Two pronouns can be combined in the same way as two nouns do in a paratactic form.

- (50) *the ŋe ereŋ-k^hole*
 1SG.ERG 2SG.ERG SELF-play
 'I and you will play.'

10.2.3 *Adjectival Coordination*

The conjunction marker *bo* is used between two adjectives or they are simply juxtaposed without any conjunction. The latter is the preferred construction. Our observation is that conjoined adjectives are used more in the predicate position than in the attributive and the preferred construction is to drop the copula (54) in such cases.

- (51) *a=surmei er=buŋoi bo e=nɔl be*
 CL 1=Surmei CL 2=beautiful CONJ CL 5=good COP
 'Surmei is beautiful and nice.'
- (52) *a=loka er=biŋoi be ara=kata*
 CL 1=Loka CL 2=handsome COP CL 6=short
 'Loka is handsome and short.'

10.2.4 *Verbal and Sentential Coordination*

Most of the verbal coordination appears to be sentential coordination as the subject is repeated between the two actions and fulfils the condition for sentential coordination.

- (53) *t^hu reŋi-bi ra=fue-k-o bo t^hu t^hi-bi beŋ-o*
 1SG rice-ABS CL 6=cook-FA-PST CONJ 1SG place-ABS clean-DST.PST
 'I cooked the rice and cleaned the place.'
- (54) *t^hu t^h-an-ŋidik t^h=auno bo t^hu cay-bi kaŋ-o*
 1SG 1SG-REFL-whole day 1SG=sit CONJ 1SG whatever-ABS do-DST.PST
 'I sat for the whole day and I did a whole lot (what did I not do?).'

These constructions are different from the serial verb constructions discussed below in §10.6.

10.2.5 *Adversative Coordination*

One affirmative and one negative sentence can be juxtaposed to each other to represent adversative coordination. There is no specific word for the disjunction 'but' in the language.

- (55) *m-ara=m-lifu mut=cone ŋut=conne-p^ho-ø*
 1PL-CL 6=REFL-all 1PL.CL 4=go 2SG.CL 4=go-NEG-PST
 'We all went but you did not.'

Thus, adversative conjunctions or disjunctions are not represented overtly:

- (56) *a= lep^hai-r=cɔk nol e=cai un-tabol-o*
 CL 1= Lephai-CL 2=face good CL 5=bad REFL-naughty-DST.PST
 'Lephai is handsome but bad and naughty.'
- (57) *t^ho ŋa ci-b-om t^ho keŋe p^ho-be*
 1SG 2SG come-FA-NPST 1SG stay NEG-NPST
 'I will come with you but won't stay back.'

Adversative constructions can involve gapping of the verb.

- (58) *a= lep^hai er=eŋk^hole-b-om a=bie p^ho*
 CL 1= Lephai CL 2=play-FA-NPST CL 1=Bie NEG
 'Lephai will play but not Bie.'

10.2.6 *Comitative Conjunction*

The comitative conjunction marker is *kɔc* which is inserted between the two constituents that are conjoined.

- (59) *joe kɔc meo uni-b-o*
 Jo COM meo return-FA-DST.PST
 'Jo returned with Meo.'

It has been noticed that speakers drop the comitative marker more often than not and it is, instead, the context that delivers the appropriate meaning.

- (60) *tʰo cao-ne fit-b-um*
 1SG dog-PL hunt-FA-NPST
 'We go hunting with dogs.'

10.3 NEGATION

It behaves like a verb as it is capable of taking TAM markings (61–63). The negative marker *pʰo* or *pʰu* is used post-verbally but before the copula *be* (64). In our database some examples of negative verbs, as expected, have the body division class marker 5. However, at present this marker is not used by all of the speakers.

- (61) *tʰu ŋe bɔ i=pʰo-θ*
 1SG 2SG.DAT ask CL 5=NEG-PST
 'I did not ask you.'

- (62) *ɛŋkaʔ pʰo-me*
 find someone NEG-HAB
 '(I) normally do not find anyone.'

- (63) *u fup-bi now-pʰo-m*
 3SG basket-ABS weave-NPST
 'He is not weaving the basket.'

Just like any other verb form the negative lexeme can define a state and thus can be followed by a copula.

- (64) *e=cul oco pho be*
 CL 5=have net NEG COP
 '(He) does not have a net.'

One of the Jeru speakers used the negative word *k^hum* instead of *p^ho* for negating the psychological verbs such as *bɔ* ‘understand’ or PGA *bɔ* ‘ask’ Consider:

- (65) *t^hoŋa tɛk^ho-bi bɔ-k^hum-om*
 1SG.2SG language-ABS understand-NEG-NPST
 ‘I do not understand / know your language.’

10.3.1 *Emphatic Negative Coordination*

Negative coordination of the type ‘neither . . . nor’ are represented as coordinated phrases with emphatic negation *taip^ho* meaning ‘not at all’ or ‘absolutely not.’

- (66) *t^h=ut=thu aŋo taip^ho t^h=a:ra=belo taip^ho t^h=ɛrla:-b-om*
 1SG=CL 4=born after NEG 1SG=CL 6=earlier NEG 1SG=alone-FA-NPST
 Literally: ‘No one is born after me, no one earlier, I am alone.’
 ‘There is no one either younger or older than me, I am all alone.’

10.3.2 *Prohibitive Negation*

Prohibitive imperative markers *-bim* ~ *-em* ~ *-um* are suffixed to the verb root. As vowel clusters are allowed in the language (refer to §2.1.4) the negative *um* in (68) forms a distinctive syllable.

- (67) *ŋ.ut= kona-bi beliŋ-em*
 2SG.CL 4= tendu-ABS cut-PROHB
 ‘Do not cut tendu.’

- (68) *ŋu bei-bi k^hu-um*
 2SG bottle-ABS drink-PROHB
 ‘You should not drink.’

- (69) *khuol ŋu t^ha=ce-bim*
 there 2SG 1SG.CL 1=come towards-PROHB
 ‘You need not come to me there.’

- (70) *ŋu beno-bim*
 2SG sleep-PROHB
 ‘Do not sleep.’

- (71) *iku (juk^hi) aŋ-bi ɛr=ban-em*
 burn AGENT/REL wood-ABS CL 2=hold-PROHB
 ‘Do not hold the burnt wood.’

- (72) *ino-bi cay im*
 water-ABS bad PROHB
 'Don't dirty the water.'

To show respect to the addressee the Jeru speakers use the negative verb *p^hu* instead of the prohibitive negative marker.

- (73) *ŋu ka:far-bi k^hu-p^hu*
 2SG tea-ABS drink-NEG
 '(Please) don't drink tea.'

10.4 INTERROGATIVES

As stated earlier in §10.1.10, PGA has many WH-words, content question words, but none like an interrogative particle, a word that signals polar questions. Polar questions are framed by raising the tone of the declarative sentence. Thus, the PGA version of 'are you going to hunt' will be the equivalent of 'you are going to hunt' spoken with a rising tone.

- (74) *ŋu t^h-i lɛc-bi tɛf-am*
 2SG 1SG-DAT arrow-ABS give-NPST
 'Will you give me an arrow?'

- (75) *kitak^hi ŋ=aono be*
 sometime 2SG=sit IMP
 'Will you sit here for some time?'

The question words occur in the same position in which a corresponding non interrogative expression would occur.

- (76) *ŋu cay-bi kaŋ-o*
 2SG what-ABS do-DST.PST
 'What did you do?'

Another interesting feature is that PGA makes a distinction between human and non-human referents (§7.4). The human interrogative pronoun is *aŋu* which is marked for person. The non-human question word is *cay*, which is productively used for deriving all kinds of WH constructions. It is used for both 'what' and 'where.' When it connotes the meaning of 'where', the locative marker *-l* is suffixed to the question word, thereby giving it the meaning 'what in/at' whereas the term *ŋetani* stands for 'how.'

Another interesting fact is that forms for indefinite pronouns and question words are identical. See §7.4 for details. The question word *cay* can be followed by any case marker as the situation demands; *cay-bi* 'what-ABS', *cay-ta* 'what-ABL/INST', *cay-k^hudi* 'what-DAT', etc.

- (77) *ɲu cay-bi ra=fue-ø*
 2SG what-ABS CL 6=cook-PST
 'What did you cook?'
- (78) *meo-bi cay-ta et=pho-ø*
 mango-ABS what-ABL OBJ=cut-PST
 'With what did you cut the mango?'
- (79) *a=t^hire ca:y-k^hudi ɲolo-b-om*
 CL 1=child what-DAT cry-FA-NPST
 'Why is the child crying?' or 'What for the child crying?'
- (80) *di aɸiʉ be*
 3SG.DEM who COP
 'Who is he?'
- (81) *a=caɸiʉ-nu portbler-ak nu epo be*
 CL 1=who-PL Port Blair-DIR 3PL visit NPST
 'Who all will visit Port Blair?'

The question word combined with the relative marker can be the final word in the sentence. This means it can take the predicate position as this is a verbless clause.

- (82) *ɖut= ɲo cay-juk^he*
 3SG.CL 4= house what-REL
 'Which one is your house?'

There are the modal interrogative words *ɸitani* and *k^hitani* that convey the meaning of 'how.' The order of this word is not rigidly fixed as it can occupy the initial position as well as the second position in the sentence.

- (83) *k^hitani ɲiyo be*
 how 2SG.EXIST COP
 'How are you?'
- (84) *ɸetani ɲe epo-be*
 how 2SG come-NPST
 'How do you come?'

- (85) *ɲu fetani celecmo (u)t=luk^hui-bit p^hen-e*
 2SG how bushes CL 4=high-ABS.OBJ= jump over-IMM.PST
 'How did you jump over the high bushes?'
- (86) *ɲut= t^hire fetani eɲo-be*
 2SG.POSS4= child how come-NPST
 'How does your child come?'

As stated earlier, the question word *cay* is suffixed with the locative marker *-l* to represent a locative interrogative such as the equivalent of English 'where'. Thus, PGA has *cay-l* but since the metathesis rule applies (see §2.5.9), the word is rendered as *cya:l* ~ *cya:l* 'where.'

- (87) *cya:l ut=ɲo be*
 where CL 4=live COP
 'Where does he live?'
- (88) *cya:l ɲu a=ɲo e=ole-b-o*
 where 2SG CL 1=Jo CL 5=see-FA-DST.PST
 'Where did you see Jo?'
- (89) *cya:l ɲ=ut=coɲ-o*
 where 2SG=CL 4=find-DST.PST
 'Where did you find it?'

10.5 NON-FINITE SUBORDINATION

PGA uses non-finite strategies for building complex syntactic structures. In this section we shall consider all those constructions which are derived by combining two verbal clauses in which the second clause in the sequence is finite and the first one is either unmarked (symbolized by \emptyset) or is marked by the homophonous past marker of the narrative style *-il* (see §9.8.1) to indicate the adverbial subordination to the main verb in the second clause. The first verb in the two verb sequence is non-finite. The explanation with examples for verb serialisation is given below. Non-finite conjunctive verbs, those that conjoin two clauses, are symbolized as CONV.

10.5.1 Verb Serialisation

The combination of non-finite and finite verbs may denote any of the following readings:

- (a) Sequential or conjunctive. If the relationship between the two verbs is of conjunctive denoting the adverbial function of 'after', the first verb is suffixed by the homophonous past marker reserved for narration, i.e., *-il* or *-l* (90, 91). It can optionally appear in the (unmarked) simple past tense (92, 93). These verb forms serve the functions of CONVERB as discussed previously in §9.8.1. The second and the final verb can take any of the tense markers as the situation demands.

- (90) *o tʰ=ε bofo-l tɛbol-ø*
 3SG 1SG=ABS hit- CONV run away-PST
 'After hitting me he ran away'

- (91) *tʰa=mai aka na-l u kʰijire-kak ot=cone-ø*
 1SG.CL 1.POSS=father 3SG eat-CONV 3SG stroll-DIR CL 4=go-PST
 'After eating (his food) my father went for a stroll.'

- (92) *kʰudi bo o lec-ik=ter=tola-ø eka tʰi*
 3SG. PROX2 and 3SG arrow-OBJ=CL 2=shot-CONV 3OBJ land
 (u)t=bol-o
 CL 4=search-DST.PST
 'He searched for the shot arrows.' (He shot more arrows, he searched for them)
 'Having shot more arrows he searched for them on the land.'

- (93) *u kona tob-ø tɛbol-o*
 3SG tendu steal-CONV run away-DST.PST
 'Having stolen tendu fruit he ran away.'

- (b) Cause and effect. If the relationship between the two events is one of cause and effect then the first verb is unmarked and the final verb takes any of the tense markers as the situation demands (94).

- (94) *meo-bit bim tʰire nu ekʰuku*
 meo-bi it=bim-ø tʰire-nu e=kʰu-k-u
 orange-ABS OBJ=squeeze-CONV child-PL CL 5=drink-FA-DST.PST
 'Having squeezed the orange children drank it (the juice).'

- (c) Purposive. If the final action is undertaken in order to fulfil a purpose indicated in the action/event in the first verb then it may be unmarked. The second and final verb can take any of the tense markers as the situation demands (95–97).

- (95) *em-boi kəʔ-e ekjira-ø inci-l*
 REFL-wife Kot-ABS tell-CONV go-NRR.PST
 '(He) went to tell his wife Kot.' (Purposive)
- (96) *tʰ=ambikʰir taracər-bi eole-ø inci-k-o*
 ISG=REFL. morning spring-ABS see-CONV go-FA-DST.PST
 'Yesterday I went to see the spring.' (Purposive)
- (97) *a tʰire pʰir fup bi konarlub incikom*
 a=tʰire pʰir-fup-bi kona er=lub- ø inci-k-om
 CL 1=child cane-basket-ABS tendu CL 2=pick-CONV go-FA-NPST
 'The child goes with a cane basket to pick up tendu fruits.' (Purposive)

- (d) Verb serialisation can also be used as the first verb in the sequence performs the manner in which the final verb is undertaken (98). In such cases the first verb is suffixed by the homophonous past marker reserved for narration, i.e., *-il* or *-l* and performs the function of the CONVERB.

- (98) *pʰertajido e=maʔ-il unci-ø*
 Phertajido CL 5=run-CONV go towards-PST
 'Phartajido went towards (her) running.' (Manner)

- (e) The subject identity is maintained in most of the examples unless the sequence of events are undertaken by two distinct subjects (99–100), in which case the construction represents chaining of two clauses. Refer to §10.6.

- (99) *ŋu kʰiel tʰu inci-l tʰ=ut=bə nəl-pʰo-be*
 2SG here 1SG come-NRR.PST 1SG=CL 4.POSS=heart good-NEG-COP
 'I do not like your coming here' (you came to me, I do not like).'
- (100) *meʔʰibitpʰilel mərambəpʰome*
 me-tʰi-bi it=pʰilel ma-aram-bə-pʰo-me
 1PL-place-ABS OBJ=flood-NRR.PST 1PL.EXCL-REFL-know-NEG-HAB
 'How our place flooded with water, we do not know.'

It can be generalised that if the two actions are undertaken by the same subject the first event in a sequence of two events serves an adverbial function followed by the second verb in a finite form with full TAM markings.

It is observed that PGA does not have the prototypical specific word for the complement conjunction 'that.' Hence, all direct speech involving the

complementiser like the English ‘that’ is rendered as clause chaining (see §10.6) without any intervening element in them.

However, there are two types of clauses that can be considered as complement clauses from a semantic point of view. These employ the complementiser of ‘reasoning’ *k^hude* and the ‘conditional’ *amo*. The structure of these can be described as:

(S 10.1) SUBORDINATE CLAUSE_COMP_MAIN CLAUSE

These are discussed below.

10.5.2 *Cause and Effect*

Clauses with a cause and effect situation or reasoning precede the main clause. There is a COMP *k^hude* ‘because’, ‘that’s why’, which is a link between the two.

- (101) *milənep^huk^hude t^humeteimulu p^huk^hu*
 miləne p^hu k^hude t^hu metei-mulu p^huk^hu
 sweet NEG COMP 1SG milk-sugarless NEG drink
 ‘Because there is no sugar, I will not drink milk.’

Sentence (101) can be rendered without the complementiser *k^hude* as an example of clause chaining. See §10.6. Some more examples with complementiser links are:

- (102) *loka euretercek^ho k^hude o ekterfɔrop^ho*
 loka eure-tɛrcek p^ho k^hude o ek=tɛr=fɔro p^ho
 Loka body-strength NEG COMP 3SG 3OBJ=CL 2=push NEG
 ‘Because Loka has no strength, he cannot push.’

In the following construction the subject is not overtly marked but it is understood.

- (103) *e=bu^tu k^hude o=folo p^ho*
 CL 5=weak COMP CL 7=crawl NEG
 ‘Because it was weak it could not crawl.’

10.5.3 *Conditional Clauses*

Conditional clauses are marked by the conditional marker *-amo* which is suffixed to the root verb of the subordinate clause. As expected, the main clause follows the subordinate clause.

- (104) *jicerbira kɔrop^hamo t^hutconebe*
 jicer-bi ra=kɔrop^h-amo t^h=ut=cone-b-e
 rain-ABS CL 6=stops-COND 1SG=CL 4=go-FA-IMM.PST
 'If the rain had stopped for a while, we could have gone.'
- (105) *ŋu t^h=i mɪthai-bi p^hu tɛf-amo t^ho ŋolo-b-om*
 2SG 2SG-DAT sweets-ABS NEG give-COND 1SG cry-FA-NPST
 'If you do not give me the sweets I will cry.'
- (106)¹ *tujul-(u)l ŋu t^hu bik=amo ŋ=a=cɪthi-bi ole-koliŋe*
 early-LOC 2SG reach ABS.OBJ=COND 2SG=CL 1=letter-ABS see-SUBJ
 'If you had reached (here) earlier you would have seen the letter.'
- (107) *o t^h=o=bɔi-amo t^hu i=terta-k-om*
 3SG 2SG=CL 4=ask-COND 1SG CL 5=narrate-FA-NPST
 'If he asks me I will tell him (the whole story).'
- (108) *u t^hu inci-k-amo u t^hu-n-ce*
 3SG 1SG come-FA-COND 3SG 1SG-REFL-come-IMP
 'If he can come he should come to me.'
- (109) *sarep^hile-k-amo ŋu keo-bi it=cɔŋg-om*
 tide-FA-COND 2SG crabs-ABS OBJ=find-NPST
 'In case of tide you will find crabs.'

PGA is losing the complement markers *-amo* and *-k^hude* as these constructions are being replaced by clause chaining. The context always serves as the clue for the appropriate interpretation.

While discussing verb sequences one cannot ignore the action nominals in the language as they are derived from non-finite verbs and indicate 'purpose' of the action signified by the finite verb. Let us consider them now.

10.5.4 Action Nominals

Following Comrie (1976: 178) action nominals are nouns derived from verbs with the general meaning of an action or process and are capable of taking prepositions or postpositions in the same way as non-derived nouns. The absolutive marker *-bi* in PGA is homophonous to the nominaliser suffix *-bi* and is attached to a verb root to convert it into a nominalised form. This is a very productive strategy in the language to derive nouns from verbs. It also indicates the state of the object. Consider:

¹ This is the only example of the subjunctive mood in our database. Enquiries regarding getting more constructions of this type did not bring any results.

- (110) *tɔya-bi ɲale a=malai-o*
 stand-NMLZ 2PL CL 1=tire-DST.PST
 'You all got tired while standing (for a long time).'
- (111) *tʰu beno-bi inci-k-o*
 1SG sleep-NMLZ go-FA-DST.PST
 'I went away to sleep.'
- (112) *tʰu taya-bi inci-k-o*
 1SG eat-NMLZ go-FA-DST.PST
 'I went to eat.'
- (113) *ɲu ɲofo-bi ut=cokʰ-om*
 2SG swim-NMLZ CL 4=well-NPST
 'You can swim well.'

10.6 CLAUSE CHAINING

PGA offers ample examples of clause chaining or clause linking, whereby a number of finite clauses referring to distinct but related events are placed together in a sequence. The main clause is placed last in the sentence.

Clause chaining is evident in reported speech where two sentences appear to be joined together without a link. The statement sentence or reported speech follows the main clause, i.e., the reporting speech with a reporting verb 'say', 'tell', etc. Consider when the reported speech is a declarative sentence:

- (114) *akarkʰa tɛkʰamo u portblair etmokom.*
 α=karkʰα-ø tɛkʰamo u port bler et=ok-om
 CL 1=tell-PST soon 3SG Port Blair OBJ=leave-NPST
 '(He) said that he will leave Port Blair soon.'
- (115) *o akarkʰa rɛfiraɲue ɲyoak enoleme*
 o α=karkʰα-ø rɛfe ɲaɲue ɲyo-ak ε=nole-me
 3SG CL 1=say-PST rice cook home-DIR CL 5=good-HAB
 'He said that cooking at home was good.'
- (116) *naye ɲu-i(k)=kʰider-e tɛfa-l ɲu-i=*
 3PL.ABS 2SG-OBJ=coconut-ABS give-NRR.PST 2SG-CL5=
 ɲ=ot=obore-pʰo
 2SG=CL 4=forget-NEG
 'You did not forget that you gave them a coconut.'

The structure of juxtaposing the main clause, i.e., reporting speech and the reported speech exists for all kinds of subordinate clauses involving interrogatives, imperatives, and negatives in the reported speech.

- (117) *o jira-b-o p^het^her-il ŋa-uno be*
 3SG say-FA-DST.PST stone-LOC 2SG-sit IMP
 'He asked me to sit on the stone.'
- (118) *abhishek jira-b-o tamtam berebe er=bat^he p^ho*
 Abhishek tell-FA-DST.PST Tamtam Birebe CL 2=slap NEG
 'Abhishek told that Tamtam did not slap Birebe.'
- (119) *u t^h=e= boi-om ŋ=ut=t^hut^hu a=fyu bi*
 3SG 1SG=CL 5= ask-NPST 2SG=CL 4.POSS=brother CL 1=who COP
 'He asks me who my brother is.'
- (120) *jicer-bi cer-om th=ut=cone-p^ho-be*
 rain-ABS rain-NPST 1SG=CL 4=go-NEG-NPST
 'I will not leave since it is raining.'

Consider the following sentence where the subject pronoun (*t^hu*) '1SG' is gapped.

- (121) *t^ha=mai jiret=al tocai-be-(t^hu)*
 1SG.CL 1.POSS-father tell.OBJ=NRR.PST whatever-ABS
 (*i*) *t=lik^ho-k-om*
 (1SG)-OBJ=make-FA-NPST
 'Whatever my father told me I do it.' or
 'I do exactly the same way as told by my father.'

Two imperative forms can be combined to represent a joint action. Here, both verb forms take the imperative suffix {-*be* ~ *e*}. However, since the two verbs conjoined here belong to two different body division classes the subject pronoun is obligatorily repeated. In English it would be considered an example of sentential coordination.

- (122) *ŋ=ut=cone be ŋ=e=eole e*
 2SG=CL 4=go IMP 2SG=CL 5=see IMP
 'You go and see.'

10.7 COMPARATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

There seems to be no overt morphological marking for comparative or contrastive or superlative degrees. In our database we have very few sen-

tences pertaining to this phenomenon. The mixed nature of the language gives alternative structures and we do sometimes obtain a marker, the status of which cannot be established as 'comparative.' The marker of comparison that appears sometimes is *-ta ~ -te*, which is homophonous to the ablative/instrumental marking and is suffixed to the noun of the standard of comparison. This results in three alternating structures.

- (a) In the following sentence, as expected, the comparative marker is post-nominal.

- (123) *ŋ=ot=no-ta di no nɔl totcyo be*
 2SG=CL 4=house-COMPR 3DEM house good very much COP
 'This house is better than your house.' or
 'This house is the best of all.'

- (b) Alternatively, the standard of comparison can be moved to the final position in the sentence without a finite verb, a rare phenomenon.

- (124) *inotaracɔr ɖuroŋmo bi fareta*
 ino-tara=cɔr ɖuroŋmo bi fare-ta
 water-CL 6=spring clean COP sea-COMPR
 'Spring water is cleaner than the sea water.'

Although the two sentences conjoined by the copula *be* below appear to be independent sentences, they are grammatically and syntactically related and conjoined as the proclitic appearing in the second sentence co-refers to *met^hil* 'dirty' in the previous sentence.

- (125) *port bler met^hil be ɖiglipuril taip^ho*
 port bler met^hil be ɖiglipur-il ta-i=p^ho
 Port Blair dirty COP Diglipur-LOC COMPR-CL 5=NEG
 'Port-Blair is dirtier than Diglipur.' or
 'Port Blair is dirty, Diglipur is not.'

- (c) Thirdly, there are constructions which match exactly the pattern of Hindi syntax. Consider the following.

- (126) *ŋarajulu-te t^harajulu tɔlɔŋmobe*
 ŋ=ara=julu-te t^h=ara=julu tɔlɔŋmo be
 2SG=CL 6.POSS=clothes-COMPR 1SG=CL 6.POSS=cloth white COP/EXIST
 'My clothes are whiter than yours.'

Constructions for indicating kinship relations younger and elder than the speaker are either derived by primary possessive (127) or by secondary possessive (128) devices as seen in Chapter 6 on possession.

- (127) *t^h=ara=fulu*
 1SG=CL 6.POSS=later
 'Younger than me.'
- (128) *t^h=ut=toa-t^hu*
 1SG=CL 4-=before-born
 'My elder brother.'
- (129) *u-tun-toa-t^hu* *toka* *p^hu*
 3SG- REFL-before-born like NEG
 '(He) is not like his elder brother.'

Two consecutive sentences/phrases are juxtaposed to each other with contrastive sets of adjectives. The sentences conjoined in this way may have one finite verb at the end, or none of the phrases have finiteness and hence they may be verbless constructions (131).² These are considered non-verbal clauses (Dryer 2007: 224).

- (130) *ajoeutkata anaraynertɔy lobunbe*
 α=joe-ut=kata α=narayan er=ɔy lobun be
 CL 1=Joe-CL 4=dwarf CL 1=Narayan CL 2.POSS=leg long be-EXIST
 'Joe is short. Narayan is tall.'
- (131) *diglipur tot=luk^hui portbler tot=letamo*
 Diglipur CL4=high Port Blair CL4=flat
 'Diglipur is high. Port Blair is flat.' Or
 'Diglipur is higher than Port Blair.'

Sentence (66) of emphatic negation coordination considered above represents another example of a comparative construction. It is repeated here for convenience.

- (132) *t^h=ut=thu afio* *taip^ho* *t^h=a:ra=belo* *taip^ho*
 1SG=CL 4=born after NEG 1SG=CL 6=earlier NEG
t^h=eerla:-b-om
 1SG=alone-FA-NPST

² This means PGA has both non-verbal predicates as discussed in Chapter 3 and exemplified elsewhere in the grammar as well as non verbal clauses.

Literally: 'No one is born after me, no one earlier, I am alone.'
 'There is no one either younger or older than me, I am all alone.'

10.8 RELATIVISATION

We briefly mentioned in §10.1.9 that the relative marker is not used much except in Jeru. Other Great Andamanese languages use paratactic strategies and participial constructions. In all, PGA uses the following three structures for relativisation described below in (§ 10.2–4):

(§ 10.2) (ADJ) REL_N

There is a special lexeme *juk^{he}* ~ *uk^{he}*, which is a relativiser morpheme that specifies the following noun and is optionally preceded by an adjective or a verb. It serves as a restrictive relative marker. This construction was observed only in the speech of Jeru speakers as the other speakers preferred to drop the relativiser from the sentence. It should be noted that the order of the modifier and modified is reversed in these constructions. The prototypical order, as we have seen so far is modified-modifier.

- (133) *akauno uk^{he} a=t^hire t^h=ico k^himil be*
 3SG.sit REL CL 1=child 1SG=GEN friend COP
 'The child who is sitting is my friend.'

- (134) *nɔl juk^{he} tofa t^h=ut=t^hire be*
 good REL boy 1SG=CL 4=child COP
 'The good (looking) one is my child.'

One of the readings of the following sentence is superlative.

- (135) *nɔl tocyo juk^hi no t^h=ut=no be*
 good very REL house 1SG=CL 4.POSS=house COP
 'The house which is the best is mine.'

- (136) *toya uk^{he} a=t^hire ta=ben-om*
 stand REL CL 1=child APPL=sleep-NPST
 'The child who had been standing went off to sleep.' or
 'The standing child is dozing off.'

Constructions without the relativiser appear to be simple adjectival constructions but with reversed ordering, i.e., the modifier precedes the noun rather than following it. In such cases it is always the verb that modifies

the following noun and the construction is considered a relativised nominal construction.³ Consider:

- (137) *e=tei-ka tofa emp^hil-o*
 CL 5=fever-GEN boy die-DST.PST
 ‘The fevered boy died.’ / ‘The boy who had a fever died.’

The second structure for relativisation is of the following type:

- (S 10.3) S_S

This is a case of sentential modification, where in a sequence of two finite clauses, the previous one modifies the following one and the subject is elided in the second clause provided it is shared.

- (138) *ko ter=folo-k-a ø i=botho-ø*
 bow CL 2=hang-FA-IMM.PST CL5=fall- PST
 ‘The bow which was hanging fell down.’

- (139) *a=to-ra be t^h=ambikhir ø eol-a*
 CL 1=EMPH-pig COP 1SG=REFL.morning see-IMM.PST
 ‘This is the pig that I saw this morning.’

- (140) *tɔkhot-o(t)=tɔŋ-el t^h=o(t)=thomo e=botho-ø ø*
 piece-CL 4.POSS=wood-LOC 1SG=CL 4.POSS=cap CL 5=fall-PST
 er=folo-k-e
 CL 1=hang-FA-IMP
 ‘Hang my cap which fell down from the wooden nail.’ or
 ‘My cap, which was on the wooden nail, fell down, (please) hang it (back).’

The third structure is very similar to the Dravidian and Indo-Aryan languages.

- (S 10.4) NP (V_{state})

It is a non-finite participial relativisation which modifies the preceding noun phrase. The verb root is suffixed by *-e* and defines the state of the

³ These constructions are similar to participial constructions found in Dravidian languages or in those Indo-Aryan languages which are influenced by Dravidian, such as Konkani.

noun preceding it. Thus, it is post-nominal modifier as expected. The modifier verb is in a non-finite form without any TAM markings. The participial modification can modify the noun in A function as well as in O function. Consider:

- (141) *a=ʈoʈa* *ʌc-ik=* *unɖu-k-e* *untel-e*
 CL 1=boy arrow-OBJ= break-FA-PCPL call-IMP
 'Call the boy who broke the arrow.'

- (142) *ʌc-ik=* *unɖu-k-e* *e=kao-e*
 arrow-OBJ= break-FA-PCPL CL 5=bring-IMP
 'Bring the broken arrow.'

- (143) *u* *kʰidire* *i=kʰu-e* *a=kaʈa* *untele-be*
 3SG coconut CL 5=drink-PCPL CL 1=girl call-IMP
 'Call the girl who drank coconut (water).'

The following example does not have the verb 'cut' in the participial but in the root form. It acts as a verbal modifier modifying the 'pig' *ra*. This looks remarkably similar to the Dravidian relative participle strategy which has no accessibility hierarchy restrictions.

- (144) [*ra* [[*tara=uli-bik=*] *tokata*] [*ercek*]]
 [pig [[CL 6.POSS=tail-ABS.OBJ=] cut] [naughty]]
 'The tail-cut pig is a nuisance.'

10.9 SYNTAX OF THE POSSESSIVE CONSTRUCTION

Possessive phrases can take part in various kinds of constructions. These are given here simply for the reason that readers are informed of the fact that PGA follows the standard typology of languages of India.

10.9.1 Possessed NP as the Head

The possessed NP is the head of the phrase. All the examples of R - CLASS MARKER -D seen in Chapter 5 can be employed in a sentence with D working as the head of the phrase and the clause. For instance:

- (145) *ʈʰ=ara=kara-bik=* *ie-k-o*
 1SG=CL 6.POSS-waist-ABS.OBJ= pain-FA-DST.PST
 'My waist pained.'/ 'There was pain in my waist.'

- (146) $t^h=a=k\epsilon r$ $ca:e$
 1SG=CL 1.POSS=throat bad
 'My throat is bad.' / 'I have a sore throat.'

10.9.2 Possessed NP as Object

The possessive construction can operate as an object NP of the verb phrase as in:

- (147) $t^h=\epsilon r=be\eta-bi$ $it=oq\bar{u}-k-e$
 1SG=CL 2.POSS=forehead-ABS OBJ=paste-FA-IMP
 'Put ointment on my forehead.'
- (148) t^ho [$\eta=a=t\epsilon k^ho-bi$] $ik=jira-k-om$
 1SG [2SG=CL 1=speech-ABS] OBJ=speak-FA-NPST
 'I speak your language.'

10.9.3 Identification Question

An identification question can be asked by a possessive construction.

- (149) $\eta=er=liu$ $a=fiu$ bi
 2SG=CL 2.POSS=name CL 1=who COP
 'What is your name?'

10.9.4 Complement Phrase

A possessive NP can operate as a complement phrase/clause:

- (150) $t^h=u(t)=mik^hu-l$ $a=t^hire$ be
 1SG=CL 4.POSS=lap-LOC CL 1=child COP
 'There is a child in my lap.' 'The child is in my lap.'
- (151) $\eta=er=ka:ra$ $ut=conne-b-om$
 2SG=CL 2.POSS=birth place CL 4=go-FA-NPST
 'You leave for the place where you were born.'

10.9.5 Verbless Constructions

A possessive phrase can exist without a copula and without a verb phrase and in this way it is a complete sentence and contains information structure.

- (152) *t^{hi}re* *er=liu* *bea*
 child CL 2.POSS=name Bea
 'The child's name is Bea.'
- (153) *k^{he}ɛɛ* *er=uli* *a=kaʔa*
 cat CL 2.POSS=tail CL 1=short
 'The cat's tail is short.'

To summarise the discussion for this section and the others considered above, it seems that the impending death of the language is forcing the language to adopt more paratactic structures and to do away with embedding and complex structures. The simplification could also have been the result of the 'mixed' nature of the language as variation is very evident and to mitigate the variation speakers accommodate to simple structures. One could also hypothesise that the simple structures are the remnant of the old Great Andamanese language. The anthropocentrism that is represented in the body division classes pervading all content words appears to be the clue for the initial stages of language evolution. The antiquity of the language, genetic study of the community and the long isolation of the community with the rest of the world add to this hypothesis.

APPENDIX A

LICO'S GENEALOGICAL AFFILIATION AND HER LANGUAGE PROFILE

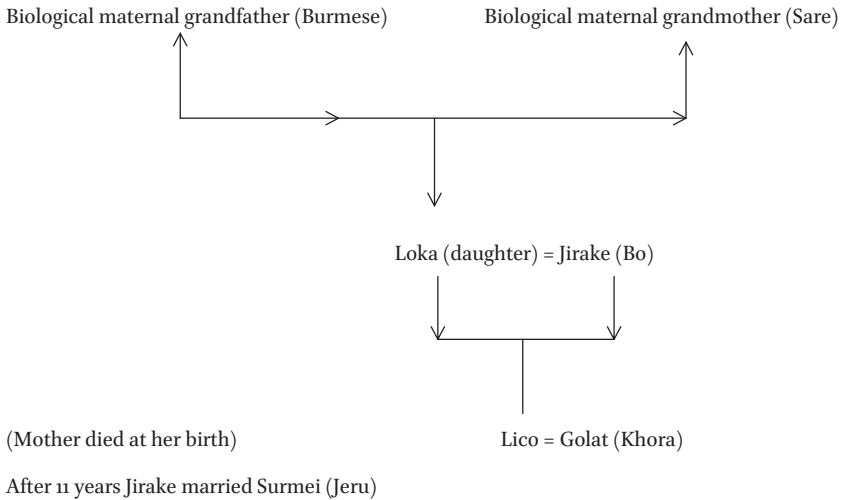


Figure A1

Lico was brought up by foster parents whom she regarded as grandparents. They were:

Loka (Pujjikar) grandfather = Kobo (Sare) grandmother

She also had contact with her biological grandmother but was closer to her foster grandmother. Her speech is largely of the Sare variety but should have traces of Khora, Bo and Jeru. She knows Jeru better than the other two as her father Jirake, who hailed from a Bo tribe mainly spoke Jeru, at least claimed that he was a Jeru speaker.

Note: Names in parentheses indicate names of the tribe and the language of the person. The symbol = means 'married to.'

APPENDIX B

AN ACOUSTIC STUDY OF PROBLEMATIC LATERAL

THE LATERALS IN PEJE'S SPEECH

As noted in Chapter 2 one of the speakers, Peje, always used a labialised lateral instead of a simple alveolar lateral [l]. An acoustic study was carried out to analyse the sound. The following words which contain laterals in initial, medial and final positions were elicited and recorded with all the speakers. We also compared Peje's speech with our main consultant, Nao Jr. (male 55). A labialised lateral is clearly evident in Peje's speech, which is totally missing from the speech of the other speakers.

METHODOLOGY

The following words were tested to analyse initial, medial and final laterals across speakers.

- | | | |
|--------------------|----------------------|----------------|
| 1. [lɛ:c] 'arrow' | [tʰɛpʰilu] 'stomach' | [pʰal] 'wave' |
| 2. [luɾo] 'fire' | [kɔ:lo] 'bamboo' | [tʰumɛl] 'bee' |
| 3. [lico] 'basket' | [ilpʰe] 'turn over' | [bol] 'rope' |
| 4. [lat] 'fear' | [ɖulo] 'moon' | |

Peje's articulation of [l] was video-graphed. We also used a digital recorder to record Peje and the other speakers. Instances of initial, medial and final [l] in the words above were recorded to compare variation in the sound [l]. The word *lɛ:c* 'arrow', as articulated by Peje and Nao Jr, is discussed below.

ANALYSIS

The laterals in Peje's speech are the result of a combination of two different articulations, lateral [l] and an approximant [w]: the former is an alveolar lateral and the latter is a bilabial approximant. In other words, the tongue is positioned as if to produce a lateral, but the lips are configured

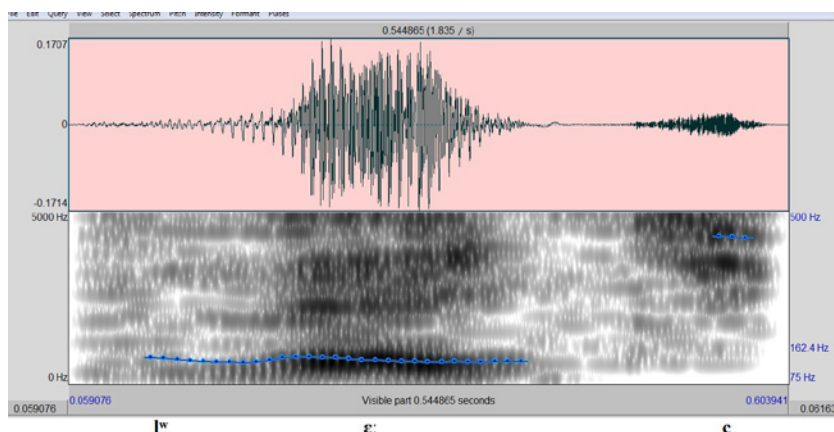


Figure B1a-b. The spectrogram of *ɛ:c* 'arrow' as articulated by Peje

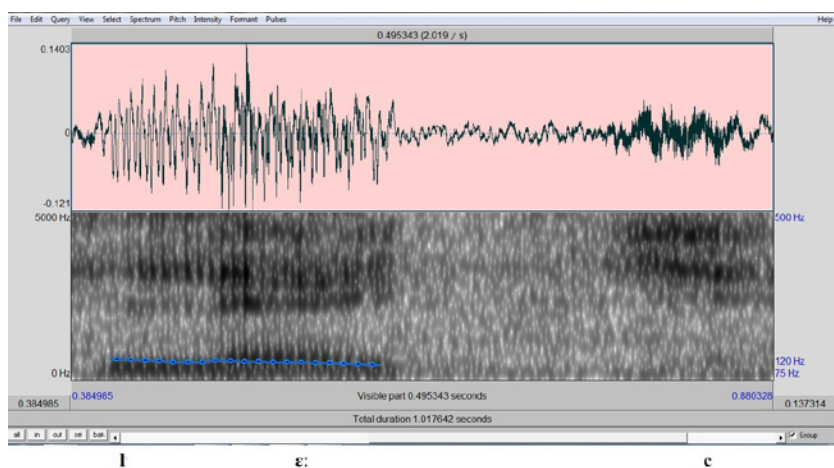


Figure B2a-b. The spectrogram of *ɛ:c* 'arrow' as articulated by Nao Jr.

as if to articulate a bilabial approximant. This is evident from the spectrogram where he articulated the word *ɛ:c* 'arrow'. See B1a-b given below. In the word *ɛ:c*, as articulated by Peje, the sound [l] has around 0.139ms, whereas for other speakers' it has around 0.097ms. This is because Peje's articulation of [l] is different from the other speakers. The narrow and wide band spectrograms, of Peje in Figure B1a-b, and Nao Jr. in Figure B2a-b, are presented above.

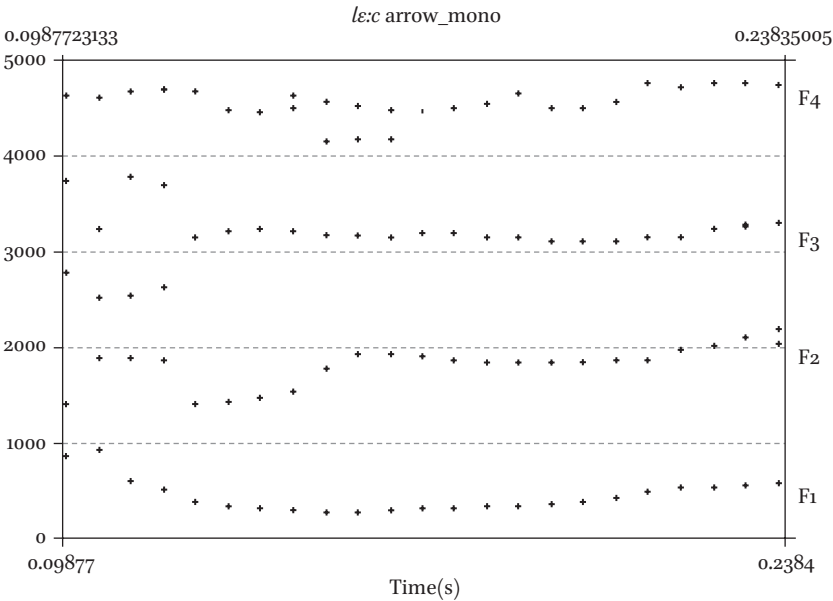


Figure B3. Formant Structure of [l] (Peje)

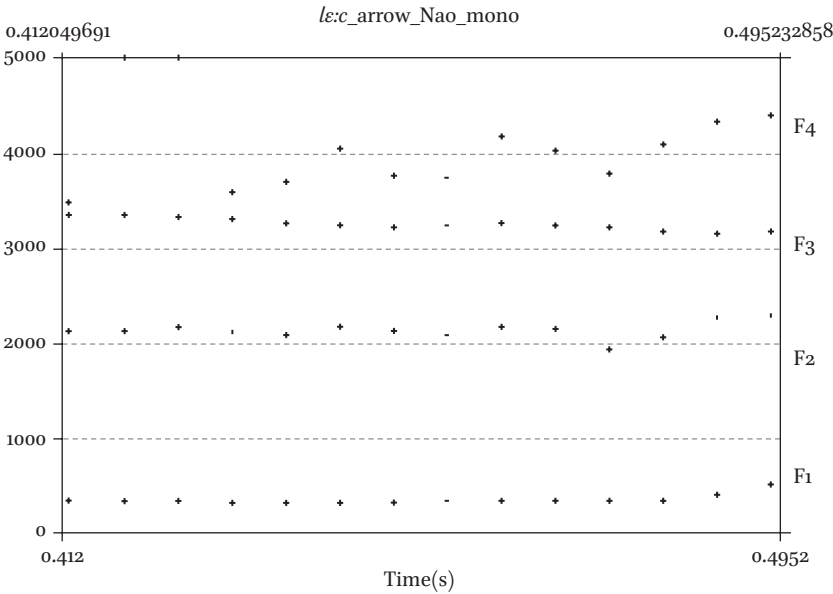


Figure B4. Formant Structure of [l] (Nao Jr.)

FORMANT STRUCTURE

Acoustically, laterals have a formant-like resonance such as is found in the vowels (Ladefoged & Maddieson 1996). Thus, it is important to compare the formant structures of the laterals. The formant structure of Peje's [l] is different from Nao Jr.'s [l]. The formant structure of Nao Jr.'s [l] is quite clear and straight, while Peje's [l] has some deviations, see Figures B₃ (Peje) & B₄ (Nao Jr.) given above. The labiality in the [l] pronounced by Peje is clearly evident from the transitions plotted in formant tracings in Figures B₃ and B₄.

TEXT

THE GREAT NARRATIVE OF *PHERTAJIDO*

This is a creation myth and was told to me by Nao Jr.¹ on the night of 21st January 2006.² Nao was so fascinated by this particular story that he never tired of telling it again and again as he thought this was one of the greatest love stories that he ever heard in his life. He told me that creating one's own partner according to one's own liking was the best part of the story. In many respects it is a complete story as it mentions five basic elements of life, i.e., fire, water, earth, sky/space and air.

1. *p^hertajido* *o* *tarp^huc* *tunfoŋ* *ot=untoplɔ* *ji-o*
Phertajido 3SG Andamanese human CL 4=alone/first live-DST.PST
'Phertajido was the first human from Andaman.'
2. *p^hɔr* *kotra-ta* *t^hu-o*
Bamboo from within-ABL born-DST.PST
'He was born out of bamboo.'
3. *uɾoɬɔy-il* *eliu* *p^hertajido*
ancient times-LOC his.name Phertajido
'In ancient time, he was named Phertajido.'
4. *ɛŋkalel* *ɛŋkaɬ-p^ho-me* *eremla* *t^hit=ɲyo-ø*
here and there find someone-NEG-HAB alone place.OBJ= live-PST
'Finding no one around, he lived a solitary life.'
5. *kacole-me*
shave the arrow [make]-HAB
'He used to make bows and arrows.'
6. *o-i=* *ta-ɛŋkocil-el* *o itaci-ø* *ek=tɛɾɬok-ø*
3SG-OBJ= APPL-make arrow-CONV 3SG test-PST OBJ=shoot arrow-PST
'Having made arrows, he tested them by shooting them.'

¹ Nao Jr. died in Port Blair in 2009 due to kidney failure.

² Subsequently, the story was collected in full form in many sessions by me and Narayan Chaudhary, the research assistant in the project.

7. *o tuŋkelo leɕ-ik= tɛr=tole-me*
 3SG all over arrow-OBJ= CL 2=shot (arrow)-HAB
 'He shot arrows all around.'
8. *a=kambik^hir o [leɕ-ik=tertolaika] t^hit=bolo*
 CL 1=3SG.next morning 3SG [arrow-OBJ=shot behind] place.OBJ=find
inci-ø
 go-PST
 'Next morning he went after the [to search for the] shot arrows.'
 'He went next day to search for the arrows that he had shot.'
9. *o it=cɔŋ-el o ino-tara=cɔr et=cɔŋo-ø*
 3SG OBJ=get/found-CONV 3SG water-CL 6.POSS=source OBJ=find-PST
o- i=k^hu-l ino-t=k^hu cɔŋ-o
 3SG CL 5=drink-CONV water-CL 4.POSS=drink found-DST.PST
 'Having found one (arrow), he found a water source. He drank the water and thus discovered drinking water.'
10. *bo leɕ-ik= kac-il o leɕ-it=cɔŋ-ø*
 and arrow-OBJ= make-CONV 3SG arrow-OBJ=find-PST
mino-tara=cɛt^hul
 potato-CL 4.POSS=under roots
 'Having made more arrows [he shot more arrows] he found an arrow in the roots of a potato plant.'
11. *o i=p^hoŋ-il mino-t=cɔŋ-ø*
 3SG CL 5=hollow-LOC potato-OBJ=find-PST
 'He found potato in the hollow (of the root).'
12. *o tɔl-e iebi-ø*
 3SG potato-ABS bring-PST
 'He took/brought the potato.'
13. *du bo³ o leɕ i=nɔne-ø ince-ø*
 remaining 3SG arrow CL 5=search-PST go after-PST
 'He went to search for the remaining arrows.'
14. *o it=cɔŋ -il bi-ut=calɔ ut=cɔŋ-ø*
 3SG OBJ=find-NRR.PST dhoop-POSS4=heap CL 4=got/find-PST
 'On his search, he found lots of *dhoop*⁴.'
 'Having found it (arrow) he discovered incense (Hindi: *dhuup*).'

³ *du* 'deictic for invisible distance' and *bo* 'and', 'then' conjunction.

⁴ Incense.

15. *o i=kudilo untɔplo iebi-ø*
 3SG CL 5=small piece single return-PST
 'He returned with a single small piece of incense.'
16. *k^hudi bo o læc-ik=tɛrtola eka t^hi-t=bɔlo-ø*
 3SG.PROX2 and 3SG arrow OBJ=shot 3SG ground-OBJ=search-PST
 'He went to search for more of the shot arrows on the ground.'
 'He searched for more shot arrows on the ground.'
17. *o it=cɔŋ-il kɔt-e=mɛle t^hit=cɔŋ-ø*
 3SG OBJ=find-NRR.PST soil-CL 5=fine earth.OBJ=find-PST
 'He found it, the *Kaut*,⁵ a very fine soil.'
18. *o it=cɔŋ-il u iebi-ø*
 3SG OBJ=find-CONV 3 bring-PST
 'He found it, (Having found it) he brought it over.'
19. *u ik=k^huni-ø*
 3SG OBJ=return-PST
 'He (took some of it and) returned.'
20. *kɔt ek=p^hɛc i=bano-ø*
 soil OBJ=pot CL 5=make-PST
 '(He) made a pot/vessel out of the soil.'
21. *o i=ta=p^hai-ø*
 3SG OBJ=TR=dry-PST
 'He dried it.'
22. *irem lam-il p^hɛc ta=tɔl er=aɫ-ɛfɛ*
 REFL hard-CONV pot CL 1.POSS=potato CL 2=put on fire.IMM.PST
 'It (the pot) hardened, he cooked the potato of/in the pot on the fire.'
 'Having hardened the pot, he cooked the potato in the pot.'
23. *p^hɛc ta=tɔle ra=iɬe iboi u iji-ø*
 pot CL 1.POSS=potato CL 6=cook in the fire boil 3SG eat-PST
 'He put the pot with the potato on the fire, boiled/cooked it and ate it.'
24. *u iji-te ut=bɔɾt^hu-l*
 3SG eat-PCPL CL 4=think-NRR.PST
 'While eating, he thought.'

⁵ *kɔt* is a kind of clay used in making pots.

25. *o-tum arphuc teka u ebuk^hu e=bano-ø*
 3SG-REFL Andamanese like 3SG woman CL 5=make-PST
 ‘He made a dummy-Andamanese in the shape of woman.’
26. *u t^hical ara=caka⁶ o ara=aŋ-e kubi-ø*
 3SG above the earth CL 6=platform 3sg CL 6=fire-ABS light-PST
 ‘He put it [the dummy] above the ground on the platform and lighted a fire.’
27. *ata=p^hai (i)t=nol-ø*
 TR=dry OBJ=good-PST
 ‘He dried it well.’
28. *bo koka cəl-il u tum bət k^hacol o eule-ø*
 and/while giving final touches-CONV 3SGREFL back turn 3SG see-PST
 ‘While giving the final touches (to arrows) he turned back to see.’
29. *t^hica tuttara:l kəŋ-tun ta=bino be*
 platform on Kaut-SELF APPL=sleeping-COP
 ‘Kaut was lying (sleeping) on the platform.’
30. *bo ara=aŋ eku=bi unci-ø*
 again CL 6=fire OBJ=light go-PST
 ‘He went again to kindle the fire.’
31. *bo o koka-ø cəl*
 and 3SG resum-PST peeling
 ‘And he resumed peeling the bow.’
32. *bo o tum bət-k^hacol t^hica eule-ø*
 and 3SG REFL turn-back platform see-PST
 ‘He turned back again to see the platform.’
33. *a=mimi a= kəŋ ata=fuŋ-keŋon-il eŋk^hile-ø*
 CL 1=mother CL 1=Kaut CL 1.POSS=body-turn side-CONV shake-PST
 ‘The body of the mother Kaut turned sideways (and) shook.’
34. *p^hertajido u tum bərco*
 Phertajido 3SG REFL satisfied/happy
 ‘Phertajido was happy with himself/was satisfied.’
35. *ara=n-ŋoya-l u ara=aŋ-ikubi unci*
 CL 6=REFL-stand-CONV 3sg CL 6=fire-light went
 ‘Then he stood up and went to kindle the fire.’

⁶ Hindi *machaan* ‘wooden platform’.

36. *kokacol ik=malai-il u fid-ik ut=cone-ø*
make arrow OBJ=tire-CONV 3SG hunt-ABS CL 4=go-PST
'Having got tired by making the arrows, he went to hunt.'
37. *o ra- (ε)k-rε-l u ik^h-unni jɣo-ak*
3SG pig-OBJ=-hunt-CONV 3SG came back home-DIR
'Having found the game, he came back home.'
38. *akaj tut=ole-l t^hica-kak*
around CL 4.POSS=see-NRR.PST platform-DIR
'He glanced at the platform/ He looked over to the platform.'
39. *t^hica ter=ɔk^ho-ø*
platform CL 2=empty-PST
'There was nothing on the platform/platform was empty.'
40. *u tuɲ-bo kalui-il*
3SG REFL-heart break-NRR.PST
'He was heart-broken/he became melancholic.'
41. *o ra talε-l cyak k^hidi kɔt bel-ɔ*
3SG pig put down-CONV where DEM.DIS Kaut get lost-DST.PST
'He put down the (hunted)pig, "Where did Kaut go/get lost?"
42. *o tuɲ-bo ca:y ik=akauno-ø*
3SG REFL-heart bad OBJ=3SG.sit down-PST
'With a heavy heart, he sat down.'
43. *a=mimi a=kɔt jɣo-kotrata o*
CL 1=mother CL 1=Kaut house-inside 3SG
a=p^hertajido.t=k^holet=lameme
CL 1=Phertajido.CL 4=laugh.OBJ=tired
'Mother Kaut tired herself while laughing at Phertajido from inside the house.'
44. *p^hertajido erac-il a=tum-bo(u)t k^hacul eule-ø*
Phertajido surprise-CONV CL 1=REFL-back turn see-PST
'Surprised, Phertajido turned back to see [where the laughter was coming from].'
45. *a=kɔt-e eule-ø*
CL 1=Kaut-ABS see-PST
'He saw Kaut.'
46. *p^hertajido e=maɪ-il unci-ø*
Phertajido CL 5=running-CONV go-PST
'Phertajido went to her running.'

47. *a=kɔʔ-ek=tercoic-il* *kɔʔ* *ek=ɲolo-me*
CL 1=Kaut-OBJ=embrace-CONV Kaut OBJ=cry-HAB
'Embracing Kaut, he burst out crying.'
48. *dantɔ* *nencuo* *tʰi-t=ɲyo-me*
Thus own place-OBJ=live-HAB
'Then they lived in their own place.'
49. *nutun-tʰire* *em-il* *nutun-tʰire* *cɔpʰe*
3PL.POSS-children REFL-NRR.PST 3PL.POSS-children many
'Their children had their children and they had many children.'
50. *u ne boi-(e)m-il*
3 PL marry-REC-NRR.PST
'They married each other.'
51. *u tʰire-t-tʰire* *cɔpʰe-(e)m-il*
3SG children-CL 4.POSS=children many-REFL-NRR.PST
'Children gave birth to many more children. Children's children were many.'
52. *phertajido* *em-boi* *a=kɔʔ-e* *ikjira-l*
Phertajido REFL-wife CL 1=Kaut-ABS told-NRR.PST
'Phertajido asked his wife Kaut.'
53. *pʰarokoʔ-bi* *kɛʔ-e*
rope-ABS knit/make-IMP
'Make a rope.'
54. *um-* *pʰarako inci-l* *pʰarako-kuni-ø*
3SG.for her- pharako bring-CONV pharako-3SG.come back-PST
'He brought pharako twigs for her, came back with pharako.' or
'He came back with Pharako twigs for her.'
55. *em-boi* *a=kɔʔ* *ek=jira-l* *pʰarako-bi* *bɔl-e*
REFL-wife CL 1=kaut OBJ=say-NRR.PST rope-ABS make-IMP
'He said to his wife Kaut, "Make a rope out of it."'
56. *era=lobum* *o* *i=ta=uy-kɔc-il* *et=calo-ø*
CL 2=long 3SG CL 5=TR=REF-make-CONV OBJ=heap-PST
'She made such a long (rope) that it coiled in a heap.'
57. *pʰarako* *tu(t)=jupʰul* *pʰertajido meo-bi* *kocob-il*
rope CL 4.POSS=end Phertajido stone-ABS tie-NRR.PST
'Phertajido tied a stone at the end of the rope.'

⁷ Pharako is a kind of rope which is made out of a creeper by the same name, i.e., 'pharako.' The rope is especially known for its strength.

58. *o er=kɛto-l o ek=terɬɔe-ø ɬau*
 3SG CL 2=swirl-CONV 3SG OBJ=threw-PST sky/clouds
tu(t)=mik^hu-(a)k
 CL 4=middle-DIR
 'He swirled it and then hurled it (the stone) at (in the middle of) the sky.'
59. *cyaɭ eren-folok-il o ek=ɬeno ataci*
 where REFL-stuck/caught-NRR.PST 3SG OBJ=pulled check
 'He pulled it (the rope) down to check where it (the rope) was stuck.'
60. *u ɛr=ɬeɬer-el*
 3SG CL 2=got caught/entangled-NRR.PST
 'It (the rope) was stuck.'
61. *kɛnmo er=kɛɬ-il*
 thread CL 2=swirl/twist-NRR.PST
 '(He) twisted the threads of the rope.'
62. *kɛnmo coɬɔ-me*
 thread curvy became
 'It (the thread) became taut and curled.'
63. *(e)k.ɔ=cop-ø*
 3 OBJ.CL 7=tie-PST
 'He tied it (the rope).'
64. *em-boi kɔɬ-e ekjira-(i)nci-l*
 REFL-wife Kaut-ABS tell-go-NRR.PST
 'He went to tell his wife Kaut.'
65. *ɬ^hu ɬɔŋak mɔtkɔco-kak ɬ^h=ut=cɔne-b-om*
 1SG human heaven/above-DIR 1SG=CL 4=go-FA-NPST
 'I will go up above, there in the heaven.'
66. *ɬ^hu ɬ^hi-bi ole*
 1SG place-ABS will see
 'I will see the place.'
67. *ɬitane ɬ^hi bi*
 How place COP
 'How is that place?'
68. *mɔtkɔco-kak ɬ^hambik^hir ɬ^hut= cone-k-om*
 heaven/above-DIR tomorrow 1SG.CL 4=go-FA-NPST
 'Up above us I will go (to the heaven) tomorrow (next morning).'

69. *akambik^{hir} ut=cone-ø*
 3 SG.next day CL 4=go-PST
 ‘Next day he went away.’
70. *o rɛp^{hu}-l mɔtkɔco-kak t^{hi} ole mil-ø*
 3SG climb-CONV heaven/above-DIR place see return-PST
 ‘Having climbed up, he saw/discovered the place and returned.’
71. *o tarp^{huc}-ine cɔp^{he} (e)t= cɔŋ-ø*
 3SG Andamanese like his own many OBJ=find-PST
 ‘He found many people like himself.’
72. *aka mele t^{hi} -(e)loɛ-l u uni- ø*
 3SG returned place see-CONV 3SG come back-PST
 ‘Having seen the place he came back (returned).’
73. *em-boi a=kɔt-e jiralol-kɔc mu-tarap^{huc} k^{he}-jɲo*
 REFL-wife CL 1=Kauto-ABS said “up above” 1INCL-like us there-live
 ‘He told his wife Kaut “people like us live up above us.”’
74. *t^{hi} nol-e me-be*
 Place good-ABS allover-COP
 ‘That place is very good.’
75. *em-boi kɔt-e (e)kjira-l k^{ha}tɛ t^{he}ŋ.ot=cone*
 REFL-wife Kaut-ABS-say-NRR.PST let us 1SG INCL.CL 4=go
 ‘He told his wife Kaut, “Let us go there.”’
76. *a=kɔt-e aka-tek^{hu}-k p^h-il*
 CL 1=Kaut-ABS his-proposal-OBJ NEG-NRR.PST
 ‘Kaut did not like his proposal.’
77. *jitane t^{he}ŋ-otun t^{hire}-ne t^{hi}-bi.t= mɔ*
 How 1SG.INCL-REFL child-PL place-ABS.OBJ=leave
 ‘How shall we leave the place of our children?’
78. *bo a=p^hertajido ikjira-ø*
 then CL 1=Phertajido say-PST
 ‘Then Phertajido said.’
79. *t^{he}ŋ-otun-t^{hire}-ni arbitta kamo t^{he}ŋ ot=cone*
 1INCL-REFL-child-PL make understand COND 1INCL CL 4=go
 ‘If we convince our children we can go.’
80. *nutun-t^{hire}.n araŋ-il u ni aɾetta-ø*
 REFL-child.PL gather-CONV 3SG 3PL.DAT lecture-PST
 ‘Having gathered his children he addressed them.’

81. *p^hertajido ikjira-m t^hu(t) t^hire k^ho-ittak^he*
 Phertajido say-NPST my children now-have patience
neli t^hi-bi-ka lile-ke
 2PL.H.DAT place-ABS-3SG peace-IMP
 'Phertajido says "My children, have patience! You all keep silent. Let there be peace on this land"'
82. *ɲale-mimi ɲale-may t^hiyo mu-ɲili arbitta-k m*
 2PL.H-mother 2PL.H-father exist 1DU-2PL.DAT speak-NPST
 'We, are your mother (and) your father, both of us want to speak to you/ make you understand.'
83. *k^hilele mu-ɲili t^hi.bi.t=ɲyo p^ho*
 over here 1DU-2PL.DAT place.ABS.OBJ=live NEG
 'We will not stay over here with you all.'
84. *mɔtkɔcua m.ɛɲo be*
 above 1PL.go up COP
 'We will go up above us (heaven).'
85. *k^hilele ɲole t^hi.bi.t=ɲyo-t=nole*
 Over here 2PL.AGT place-ABS.OBJ=live CL 4=happily
 'You all live here happily.'
86. *ɖik^hɔ mun-tara=liubo-ø.*
 Enough 1PL-CL6=finish-PST
 'That's enough, we have completed our time here/our time is finished.'
87. *ittɔ-tek^hamo m=ut=cɔne-b-om*
 Right now 1PL=CL 4=go-FA-NPST
 'Right now we are going / leaving.'
88. *nu rep^hu-l p^harako ikku=beliɲ-ø*
 3PL climb-CONV rope OBJ=cut off-PST
 'Having climbed up (the rope) they cut off the rope.'

ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF 'THE GREAT NARRATIVE OF PHERTAJIDO'

An Attempt Has Been Made to Keep the Translation as Close to the Original as Possible

In ancient times there lived a man named Phertajido.⁸ Phertajido was the first man of the Andaman Islands. He originated from the hollow of a

⁸ The literal meaning of *pher-ta-jido* in Great Andamanese is 'born out of a bamboo.'

bamboo. He roamed here and there, searched for food and lived alone. He spent his time making bows and arrows.

One day, he shot the arrows here and there in all directions. Next day, he went to search for the shot arrows. When he searched for the arrows, he found a spring and drank the water from it and thus discovered drinking water.

He went to look for more of the arrows and found one hidden in the roots of a potato plant. He thus found the potato and took some with him.

He looked for more of the shot arrows. This time he found the third arrow in heap of incense (*dhoop*). He took a bit of the *dhoop* with him.

He went to look for more of the shot arrows. This time he found a very fine soil of Kaut. He took some of this also with him. He made pots out of the soil. He dried them to harden. When the pots dried and became hard, he put the potatoes in the pot and boiled them. He ate those potatoes and thus enjoyed the meal of boiled potatoes.

While eating potatoes, an idea came to him to carve a sculpture from the remaining Kaut.

He wasted no time and in a few days made a human look-alike dummy out of the Kaut soil.

He put this dummy on a raised platform and burnt some fire under it so as to dry it well. Thereafter, he resumed his bow-making.

He would look at the dummy on the platform again and again while he was busy making his bows and arrows. He ensured that the Kaut was lying on the platform and did not fall down. He would occasionally get up and go to the platform to put some more wood into the fire and then would come back to his bow-shaving job. After a while he looked back again.

He was surprised. The platform shook as the female figure of Kaut turned over. Phertajido was overwhelmed. He was immensely satisfied with his work. He stood up again to kindle the fire and complete the job of drying the figure.

When he got tired of making bows, he went into the jungle to hunt, leaving the Kaut on the platform for it to be dried completely. He found game and proceeded home with it.

As he approached home, he glanced from a distance at the platform. He found nothing on the platform. The platform was empty. He was shocked. His felt dejected and lost.

He put down the game and sighed, "Where did Kaut disappear?" He was feeling sad. He sat down on the ground with a heavy heart. He did

not know what to do next. He was oblivious of the fact that the lady Kaut was inside the house.

Kaut saw Pertajido from inside the house and started laughing. She laughed, and laughed until she got tired of it. Surprised, Phertajido looked back. He saw Kaut sitting inside the house laughing merrily.

Phertajido ran to her. He embraced Kaut and burst in tears out of the sheer joy of discovering Kaut. After that, both of them started living together as husband and wife. They had many children. Their children married among themselves and thus their clan increased by leaps and bounds.

Phertajido once asked his wife Kaut to make ropes.

He went to bring a creeper (*pharako*), found in the jungle which is good for making rope, and came back with it.

He asked his wife to peel the creeper and make rope of it.

His wife followed his advice and made a very long rope. It was so long that it coiled in the shape of a heap.

Phertajido tied a stone at the head of the rope. He swirled and swirled the rope several times and finally threw it up in the sky. He pulled back the rope and found that the rope was entangled somewhere and would not come down. He twisted the rope to make it harder. The rope tightened and stiffened. He tugged at it, but the rope would not move. He knew that the rope was stuck somewhere.

He went to call Kaut. He said to her, "I will go up above the clouds. I will go and see the place above us. I will find out what the place looks like. I will go there tomorrow."

Next day he climbed up above the clouds.

He saw the place and was surprised to find many people like himself.

He came back to the earth and told his wife about this. He told her that the place above them was nice and there were many people like the people of Andaman. He suggested to her that both of them should go there.

Kaut did not like his suggestion. She said, "How can we leave our children's place?"

Phertajido said, "We will convince our children and then we will go."

He gathered his children at one place. He tried to convince them. Phertajido said, "My dear children, please keep silent for a while. Your father and your mother are speaking to you. We will no longer stay here on this earth. We will go up above the clouds. You should live your life well here. Our time here is completed. Now we will go."

Thus saying, they went up above the clouds through the rope. Once they had reached the top, they cut the rope off from above.

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Websites with various kinds of information and database available on languages of the Andaman Islands:

- www.andaman.org
- www.andamanese.net

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Anvita Abbi collecting data from Nao Junior



Boa Senior



Boro, Anvita Abbi, Boa Senior and Peje at Strait



Great Andamanese community at Strait Island



Nao Junior and Lico